



Daily Report

East Europe

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Eagleburger 'Concern' About Kosovo Noted

AU0703130790 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The U.S. Government Is Concerned About the Kosovo Question"—"Declares Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger at a Belgrade Press Conference"]

[Text] The U.S. press reports that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Eagleburger held a news conference in Belgrade at the conclusion of his stay in Yugoslavia. Eagleburger expressed the U.S. administration's concern about the events in Kosovo.

During his stay in Belgrade, Eagleburger met Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, other top officials, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. At a news conference in Belgrade, Eagleburger stated that no concrete results were attained at these meetings. The talks centered on economic reforms and on Yugoslavia's domestic problems, particularly the Kosovo question, as well as bilateral relations.

During a reception held at the U.S. ambassador's residence in Belgrade, Eagleburger met representatives of alternative groups, including those from Kosovo. Answering questions about his talks with members of the Kosovo alternative groups, the U.S. assistant secretary of state said that the Kosovars were concerned about the situation that has been created in their province. "We told them that the U.S. administration is concerned about the Kosovo question. The report on human rights issued recently by the U.S. State Department tackles the Kosovo problem from the U.S. viewpoint. I have nothing to add on this, except to stress that we discussed the Kosovo question with a number of Yugoslav officials. What we said and the opinions expressed will remain between myself and the Yugoslav officials."

The top U.S. official added that the U.S. position on Kosovo is clear. He pointed out that the U.S. administration is in favor of democratic elections, a democratic government, and a free-market economy in Yugoslavia. The assistant secretary of state pointed out that visible results toward Yugoslavia's democratization will only be achieved if the free expression of various political views is permitted in all the republics and provinces.

'Indispensability' of Balkan Cooperation Viewed

AU0703110590 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT
7 Mar 90

["The Balkan Cooperation—An Indispensability"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 7 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper BASHKIMI carries a writing which says among others:

The meeting of the top officials of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan states begins in Athens today. It will examine the hitherto multilateral activities in the process of the Balkan understanding and cooperation since the meeting of Tirana up to now, will analyse the influence this cooperation has had in the entire inter-Balkan relations, it will define the Balkan multilateral activities, such as the meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of the Balkan states, to be held in Tirana in October this year.

The present meeting in Athens is a continuation of that process of Balkan understanding and cooperation initiated two years ago with the meeting of the foreign affairs ministers in Belgrade. The Albanian delegation attends this meeting with the goodwill and desire and with the commitment to make its efficient contribution to the consolidation of good understanding and confidence among the Balkan peoples and countries. This is in accord with the priority socialist Albania attaches to the policy of the relations of good neighbourliness and efforts that the Balkans have an atmosphere of peace and stability. As an aspiration and desire of the Balkan peoples, such a thing has existed also prior to the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, but the institutionalization of this process gave a further impetus to the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding.

The present meeting in Athens will make a contribution to the consolidation of the friendly relations between our peoples, to overcome those negative factors existing in our region. It is true that in this two-year period since the Belgrade meeting, the existing problems, inherited from the past, but also others created sometimes artificially, have not lacked.

To a certain extent they have influenced as a refraining factor, and even in some cases have tested the Balkan cooperation process itself. Our country is interested in a genuine understanding in cooperation in the Balkans so that the existing hindrances, difficulties, and problems, mainly bilateral, be overcome in bilateral ways. The bilateral cooperation constitutes the basis of the Balkan cooperation, just like the multilateral cooperation creates the suitable climate and assists in the promotion of the bilateral relations.

The Balkan region is part of Europe and the world. Whatever happens in Europe or in the world cannot fail to have its influence on our region too. Complex developments are actually occurring, in which the rapid rate developments in Europe and especially in Eastern Europe claim distinction. They can not fail to have their impact in the Balkan process. They have made even more evident the necessity for cooperation and understanding in our region, so that a climate of peace and tranquillity prevails. Therefore, the Balkan cooperation is today more than ever an alternative, an indispensability.

Alternative Socialist Party Congress Planned*AU0703212690 Sofia BTA in English
1859 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) which was formed a month ago by an initiative group of intellectuals who left the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and its faction the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO), convenes its first congress on March 10.

Today the ASP was officially registered, the party spokesman said at a press conference.

Associate Professor Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the initiative group stressed that in a comparatively short period of time since its foundation the ASP has worked out its programs on various problems of social development in Bulgaria.

After the congress the party will begin work on its preelection platform on the major principles of coalitions and unions which it will conclude. Associate Professor Nikolay Vasilev believes that at present there are no equal conditions for all parties in the country for preelection campaign.

He sees the future activity of the ASP, built on two major principles: decisiveness, radicalism of demands, resolutions and efforts and the other principle, that of the good mood. We would like to be a party which makes policy in a good mood and with a sense of humor, Mr N. Vasilev said.

The ASP backs and participates in all initiatives of the opposition Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) but it will decide the issue about membership in the union in the forthcoming congress.

At the same time the party will join the preelection opposition bloc which the SDS and some parties which are not members of the union will form in Plovdiv at the end of the week.

Trade Minister on Meat, Goods Shortages*AU0803104690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Mar 90*

[Text] At a news conference held this morning in the Ministry of Trade and Services, Minister Ekaterina Marinova spoke about the state of the domestic market. The assessments made by her will not surprise anyone. There are shortages of meat, meat products, and a number of other food products. As a result of poor organization during the first two months of this year, the meat purchases from the meat plants were 10,000 tonnes less than in the same period last year. During the period from 1 to 10 March, 2 million fewer eggs were supplied to the market than in the same period in 1989. Difficulties are also being encountered in supplying the population with a number of nonfood goods, the reason for

which is that there are delays in concluding the contracts with the economic organizations and companies producing these goods.

The government has adopted a decision to compensate for the shortfall in certain goods by imports.

Special attention was given at the news conference to the measures that are being taken for a speedy economic reform in trade and services. A program has been drawn up, according to which leasehold is to be introduced on a wide scale, and a transition is to be made toward the privatization of number of establishments in trade, public catering, and services.

Agriculture Minister Discusses Land Reform*AU0803083590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 pp 1,3*

[Interview with Todor Pandov, minister of agriculture and food industry, by Major Tsoncho Draganski: "Return to The Land"—place and date not given]

[Text] [Draganski] Comrade Pandov, your ministry is currently facing numerous tasks. Would you describe the most important ones?

[Pandov] The problems that our ministry is expected to cope with and that are awaiting solution in the agricultural and food industry sectors are very difficult. I would even describe all of them as urgent. Nevertheless, there are three or four tasks that represent absolute priority requirements. One of the most important problems is the legal solution of questions related to economic regulators and incentives, and the large-scale application of market conditions on this basis. In the second place, we should deal with problems related to the draft law on the land and to the selection of organizational methods in the agricultural sector. In the third place, the most important requirement today is promptly to implement measures for the spring campaign, considering that any kind of delay in this sphere would be disastrous. As the saying goes—a stitch in time saves nine.

[Draganski] Throughout your career you have worked as chief agronomist, as a deputy chairman and chairman of a Labor-Cooperative Agricultural Farm, and you are familiar with the living conditions of the agricultural workers. Is it possible to overcome their alienation from the land?

[Pandov] This is not only possible, but urgently required. This is the main strategic task of the state and government today. It is a basic requirement expressed in the platforms of nearly all political forces. As a matter of fact, the problem of overcoming the alienation from the land and of restoring the peasant's role as a farmer who truly cares for the land is a decisive factor in further resolving the problems of introducing effective organizational methods in agriculture and of promoting agricultural development. Some people think that only private land ownership can resolve the problem of

alienation and restore the peasants' return to their land. I think that, along with the solution of this particular problem, we should devote our attention to the question of economic incentives and material benefits resulting from the development of agricultural activities.

[Draganski] Can you describe the measures you intend to propose for the purpose of averting the consequences of eliminating state orders for agricultural production?

[Pandov] We should create opportunities for every municipal people's council, every cooperative farm, every agricultural organization, and for every private commodity producer to decide what to produce and where to sell his goods. This is a requirement of the market economy. Everyone should choose the crops he intends to cultivate in accordance with the most appropriate environmental conditions, traditions, and available resources. However, in order to guarantee the country's balance and to satisfy nationwide requirements, we should settle the problem of economic regulators and incentives. We should promote an appropriate atmosphere and establish economic conditions permitting everyone to select his own methods of work and to develop along lines coinciding with his own interests and with the interests of society. In order to produce the necessary quantities, the problems of basic foodstuff prices should be resolved in the first place and the necessary resources should be guaranteed. For the time being, we are in a contradictory situation because we issue state orders, but do not grant the resources required for this production.

[Draganski] Are the purchasing prices for grain, milk, and meat set by the state expected to stimulate the producers?

[Pandov] If we finally adopt the solution proposed by the ministry, which is justified and realistic, the problems will be resolved. Nevertheless, I cannot predict what the final solution will be like, since the problems of milk and meat have been resolved, but the grain question is still open, and a price increase is evidently expected in this sector. This involves a crucial social problem. Who should assume responsibility for the price increase, after all? Should it be society by increasing the retail bread prices, or the state through the budget? I must admit that a large amount of money—namely something like 600-700,000 million leva—is involved.

[Draganski] Can you describe the basic postulates contained in the draft law on the land and on the use of land that are expected to guarantee the necessary democratic agrarian reform?

[Pandov] The future law contains four basic postulates in this respect. The first is the requirement to develop all forms of land ownership—namely, private, state, public, cooperative, and mixed ownership. Each of these forms should demonstrate its advantages in free competition under equal economic conditions. The second postulate is that special privileges and advantageous conditions should be granted to former landowners who wish to

remain and work in the relevant cooperative farm, and that their ownership should be recognized. On this account, such individuals are entitled to certain dividends and incomes from the land. In the event they decide to establish a private farm, they will also be granted land on a priority basis. In the third place, we should deal with the question of widely applying the forms of land lease. I am talking about leasing land for an unlimited period of time and about the right of inheritance, about the development of private farms. The fourth postulate is related to the law on the land, meaning that it should not be allowed to use land for free, private commercial enterprise, such as selling, buying, and profiteering, since the land is limited. Bulgaria does not own large areas of arable land, therefore we must carefully protect and preserve the land. In this connection a special function is assigned to the state, which means that people can purchase and sell land, but only to the state and through the state.

[Draganski] Would you allow me to ask you a question on the side? How do you, as a minister, accept the requirement of publicly declaring your personal property?

[Pandov] I accept this as a perfectly normal procedure and it does not give me any trouble. I own a 124-square-meter apartment that is inhabited by seven people in the following order: Myself, my wife, my son and daughter-in-law, my grandchildren, and my wife's mother. I have a small, rundown weekend house, which I inherited from a cousin. I have a car, but I have no investments, whatsoever. I am currently repaying a loan amounting to 13,000 leva to the Housing State Savings Fund.

[Draganski] The quickest results for stabilizing our domestic market are expected from the agricultural sector. Is this true, and how soon do you expect such results?

[Pandov] In my opinion, agriculture is really the most promising branch likely in this respect. As early as from this spring, the improvement should be felt in the vegetable-growing and animal-husbandry sectors. Nevertheless, we are expected to create all necessary conditions for providing resources, such as insecticides, fertilizers, and animal fodder. They should be provided to an optimal extent, of course, as long as they do not disrupt ecological requirements. It is really necessary to demonopolize the purchasing activities. It means that those who are producing should be able freely and directly to sell their goods, provided that they observe all laws and requirements. Under the present conditions, it happens sometimes that certain goods are produced in excess quantities, but are not being purchased, as a result of which there is a shortage of such goods on the domestic market. This creates tension because of the existing monopolistic organizations in charge of purchasing production. As a result of a recently issued Council of Ministers decree, the question of vegetables and fruit has already been resolved—this sector has almost totally

adopted the market mechanism. Demand and supply will determine prices in the future.

Cabinet Reallocates Official Houses, Estates

*AU0803075390 Sofia BTA in English
2144 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—In reply to the numerous proposals and critical notes of society in relation with the resolution as from November, 1989, to give some representative residences and hunting economies, belonging to the former Security Department (UBO), for the needs of health care, education, reposal and tourism, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution for a more efficient and economically grounded use of these projects.

It is planned that the Security Department at the State Council will give residences, balneosanatoria and resting complexes to the Bulgarian Association for Tourism and Reposal, to the Ore-Dressing Enterprise "Chelopech" for a prophylactorium, to Sofia University "Kliment Ohridski," etc.

The Committee of Forests and Forest Industry is granted 4 representative hunting economies.

The lands which are ungroundedly included in the hunting economies should be returned to the respective agricultural economies.

The residences and hunting economies will be used for expensive tourist services against convertible currency.

Sixty per cent of the foreign currency incomes from international tourism and international hunting tourism at the offered properties will be included in a special currency account and will be offered for the needs of health care and mainly for children's health care.

In many of the representative residences and hunting economies offered for the needs of economic tourism there are valuable objects of art. Those of them which have value for the national culture will be given to the National Art Gallery or the respective municipal galleries.

The granting of villas, property of the state, for personal use by leading cadres, is stopped. The Security Department at the State Council will give the Bureau for Services of the Diplomatic Corps, the villas in the region of Boyana, near Sofia.

Government Order on Incentives for Managers

*AU0803111790 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
6 Mar 90 p 4*

[Text] Issue No. 19 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK of 6 March publishes Order No. 7 of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers dated 23 February 1990 on additional material incentives in 1989 in companies, other organizations, and their divisions. The order points out that in determining individual salaries, efficiency

bonuses, and bonuses for the annual results of the above organizations, no material incentives should be allowed for leading cadres, specialists, and other personnel if they are not connected with their specific contribution to fulfilling the natural production indicators, and state orders, and to producing the foreign exchange receipts, profits, and so on, in relation to the work carried out by them and in accordance with the enterprises' internal wage regulations. The individual salaries of managers and their deputies should obligatorily be determined in relation to the fulfillment of the natural indicators, to the foreign exchange receipts, and, at their own option, one of the indicators specified in Article 100, Paragraph 3 of the Regulations for Applying Decree No. 56 on Economic Activity. Under the new wages system, the amount of the funds allocated for providing additional incentives for the leading cadres, specialists, and other employees through individual wages, efficiency bonuses, and bonuses for annual results should not exceed 50 percent of the basic wages funds, while in the case of those who have not adopted the new wages system these funds should not exceed 25 percent of the basic wages funds provided for the aforementioned personnel.

Defense Minister Dzhurov at BCP Meeting

*AU0703184090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 2 Mar 90 pp 1, 3*

[Speech by National Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov at the Bulgarian Communist Party All-City Meeting held at the Sofia Vasil Levski Stadium on 1 March]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear brothers and sisters, I am speaking from this rostrum with great emotion as a man who has devoted all his conscious life to the service of the party and the people. My fate was marked by persecution in the antifascist struggle and later by the adversities of the command-administrative system that established itself following the people's victory. This is why I understand your sorrow, which I share. I also understand and sympathize with your hope for the party's radical renewal. I share your hope and confidence.

The party has proved more than once in its 100-year-old history that it can rely on great moral assets. Our people could convince themselves of this fact on 10 November 1989. What we need to understand is that this change, which we all accepted with such enthusiasm, was not a simple replacement of political personalities, but a historical act through which the healthy forces within the party leadership gave a new direction to the party's development, aimed at the construction of a truly humanitarian and democratic socialism.

We fully understand that the path along which the former authoritarian regime was leading us was ruinous for our party. It was our duty once and for all to put an end to the authoritarian regime.

The time that has elapsed since 10 November 1989, each of these 100 days, shows us that the changes we are

striving for are by no means easy. However, we should not hesitate to overcome the difficulties. The events of 10 November 1989 were only a beginning. Both our young people and the veterans, as well as the new party members—all our generations—should join this struggle for the consolidation of the process of renewal and should play their role in it. The most important thing, however, is that everyone should experience his own 10 November. This means not only to appreciate the situation, but to be ready to act, to wage a struggle.

We need specific and purpose-oriented work more than appeals and slogans. My almost 50 years of experience tells me that the time of decisive action has come. Therefore, I address all of you, urging you to join your efforts with ours so that we may all work for the sake of change, for the sake of democracy and unity.

I would like to assure all of you that our Army has always fulfilled its constitutional obligation, that it supports the changes and democratization processes in our society. Our Army will always be a people's army. The sons of our people are serving in its ranks. The Army never had and cannot have any other interests. This was confirmed by the 10 November events.

Our people can rest assured that their achievements and our motherland's sacred borders will always be reliably protected, regardless of political circumstances. The Army will also remain a stabilizing factor in our society in the future. I would like to point out in this connection that no one should forget our country's geographical situation in the Balkans and our urgent need for security. We appeal to the leaderships of all political and social forces to realize this fact and to cooperate with us for the sake of Bulgaria's interests.

The wounds inflicted on us by the command-administrative system are severe, but they are not incurable.

The path of healing along which we traveled after 10 November 1989 revealed one fact to us of which we are well aware: Today, when the crisis is visible in all places, when the number of our slanderers is increasing, the people's unity is the only means of salvation. Some people are trying to instill hatred, which can hardly represent an alternative for confidence, of joint actions aimed at overcoming the crisis and guaranteeing a worthy future.

We are in favor of a peaceful transition to a democratic political system—free of violence, disorders, and chaos. This is the path we choose because there is simply no other alternative. The other methods would result in disasters whose implications are well known to the Bulgarian people.

It is for this reason that we offer our hand to all those who have the honest desire of cooperating with us for the people's well-being and prosperity. Let us join the efforts, minds, knowledge, and experience of all those who cherish their motherland for Bulgaria's sake.

The basis for active political action exists in our country. Our party held its 14th Extraordinary Congress and adopted its "Manifesto," which is a great asset. We adopted decisions on the nationality issue. A whole package of political initiatives was adopted by the Supreme Party Council.

This is our specific program of action. This is the truth that should be accessible to every Bulgarian citizen. This is our stand as a party.

Today we need the active contribution and cooperation of all Communists. Keep your heads high, comrade Communists, we are working for Bulgaria and we will continue to do so; we shall pursue our struggle for our country's future.

BTA Employees Vote No Confidence in Leaders

*AU0703204790 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] After a general meeting devoted to the activity of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency [BTA] under the new conditions, the collective sent its opinion to the State Council chairman, the National Assembly chairman, and the Council of Ministers chairman.

According to the opinion, the main issue raised at the meeting was related to BTA's operational leadership, which has been hampered by the prolonged absence of BTA Chief Director Boyan Traykov and his deputy, Nencho Khranov.

Despite the repeatedly expressed request of the collective to immediately remove the two from their executive posts, they continue to formally hold them. This forced the collective to resort to the sole instrument it could use in such cases, in which a common position must be expressed: the vote of nonconfidence.

Through a secret vote with the participation of more than three-quarters of active BTA personnel, 330 persons voted for the resignation of Boyan Traykov and 305 for the resignation of Nencho Khranov. Only 11 votes were cast in support of Traykov and 36 in support of Khranov.

The meeting expressed confidence that the collective, which works on the basis of self-support, has the right to express a decisive opinion in anything related to the BTA's leadership and activity.

The collective demands to appoint as soon as possible new BTA leaders who enjoy the support of the employees.

'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Issues 'Declaration'

*AU2602183190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 23 Feb 90 p 6*

["Declaration" of the Bulgarian Communist Party "Bulgarian Road to Europe" ideological trend in Blagoevgrad adopted on 19 February]

[Text] We are deeply concerned about the relapses into totalitarianism that, concealed under the mask of democracy, are still persisting undisturbed within the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and through it, are still widely spread among our society. We declare our categorical disagreement with the following facts:

I. We object to Comrade Aleksandur Lilov's meeting with representatives of the G. Dimnitrov Communications Equipment Works and of the "Pirin" Tobacco Combine, which was held during working hours (as of 1100 local time).

We consider all justifications and explanations for organizing a political event during normal working hours as invalid and unjustified. Such events can openly be defined as remnants from the past that are secretly sneaking into the present reality, despite the claims that a new era has been inaugurated.

We approve all meetings of the BCP Supreme Council with citizens; however, we insist that the aforementioned precedent should not be repeated.

II. We further disapprove of the participation of former BCP oblast committee secretaries in joint conference held by the BCP Supreme Council, the BCP Parliamentary Group, and representatives of the municipal people's councils at the Sofia Georgi Kirkov Hall.

In what capacity and why did those former secretaries attend the aforementioned conference? In view of such events, how should we convince ourselves that oblast party committees no longer exist and compromised former "leaders," such as Lazar Prichkapov, no longer participate in making party policy?

III. We disapprove of the silent wait-and-see attitude manifested by the BCP Supreme Council and the municipal party committees on the question of restructuring the former basic party organizations.

We should clearly realize the requirement of considering the existing problem under the two following aspects at least:

1. It is evidently required to eliminate the party's merging with administrative organs in the production sphere and in the area of territorial-administrative units.

The conviction that once and for all does away with the pathetically naive (and widespread) belief that the elimination of party organizations in workplaces shall prevent all relapses into totalitarianism demands a basically new organization of party work. The question of how to guarantee the prevention of gross interference by any party whatsoever in the problems of individual communities should be resolved in the first place.

2. A party can be called a political party only when it is organized in autonomous, self-governing communities that implement their ideas and achieve their political goals solely through political means.

If the BCP should really aspire to become a modern political party, it should set an example with its new organizational structure by renouncing the rattling of arms in everyday politics, and by engaging solely in a struggle of ideas and values. Such party organizations, in abandoning the productions units, shall preserve their nature as communities of people who share the same ideas. In this context the free choice of the specific form of their existence (as clubs, sections, groups, and so forth) should stress, above all, their new political nature.

The step we are recommending should make a voluntary political reorganization of the party forces possible rather than promoting a compulsory elimination of party cells such as would become inevitable under a future law on political parties.

The declaration was adopted at a general meeting of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe Club" in Blagoevgrad on 19 February 1990.

Women's Democratic Union Elects Council

AU0603175190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 5 Mar 90 p 2

[Text] A patriotic-civic community striving for democracy, national revival, and protection of national values and ideals, called the "Bulgaria" Association, was established at the Fatherland Front Headquarters in Sofia on 3 March 1990. The association is a supra-party, autonomous organization which is independent from all political, state, and social institutions and is accessible to all societies, clubs, unions, sections, and others who are ready to accept the association's proclamation and statute and to work for the sake of Bulgaria's interests.

The following organizations signed up as constituent members of the association: the All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests; the Rodolyubie Rhodope Union; the Saint Kliment Okhridski All-Bulgarian Union; the Democratic Union of Rebirth and Protection of Patriotic Traditions, Customs, Values, and Interests of the Sofia Region Peasants [Shopi]; the Military-Historical Society; the "Bulgaria" Intellectuals' Club; and the Asen Zlatarov Ideological-Political Club. The new association is accessible to all those who support the cause of Bulgarian national interests.

At its first meeting the Coordination Council adopted a statute and a proclamation. An additional declaration was also approved which expresses respect and whole-hearted support for the joint measures adopted by the leaders of the All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests, the Rhodope Rodolyubie Union, and the Movement of Rights and Freedoms in Bulgaria on national consensus and on preventing conflicts based on ethnic and religious issues. The societies which joined the "Bulgaria" Association declared their readiness to contribute to the propagation and implementation of the agreement reached by the three aforementioned organizations and to the declaration they adopted.

Public Body Worried Over 'Pro-Turkish Feelings'

AU002133790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 19 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] The city conference of the Khaskovo Committee for Defense of National Interests has sent a declaration to the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Ministry of National Education that expresses alarm over the "growing pro-Turkish feelings in part of the population of Khaskovo district and other regions of the country."

"We are witnessing," the declaration states, "a demonstrative use of the Turkish language outside the sphere of everyday communication and a newly aroused psychosis of mass foreign travel by the Turkish-speaking population that has not engaged in the labor process for many months. Turkophile emissaries are creating intolerable conditions for practicing one of the most worthy professions, namely teaching. The situation is also being destabilized by the spreading of rumors about expected anti-Bulgarian programs."

The committee insists that the organs of authority ensure strict observance of the National Assembly decree of 15 January this year, which the committee firmly supports.

Split Develops in Glasnost, Democracy Club

AU0303181490 Sofia BTA in English
1720 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—The popular writers Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova and Mr. Valeri Petrov left the Glasnost and Democracy Club, a pioneer opposition organization which emerged in the autumn of 1988 in defiance of the now ousted regime.

At the end of last year the club joined the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Later on it turned out that part of the club members disagree with the change of its originally declared purpose: to be a non-partisan venue for debate on the most pressing problems of renewal and democratization and, in this way, to generate specific ideas and suggestions addressed to all political and public forces. Another part of the club members want it to carry on its participation in the political struggle and to stay within the SDS.

Most of the club's founding members were members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. Some of them, such as Mr. Valeri Petrov, were recently elected to the BCP Supreme Council. The respected writer said that he cannot stay in the club because he belongs to the largest group of people in this country now, "those who like democracy." "One day we'll realize that we have been led in the wrong direction," he said.

Most members regard Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova's resignation from the club's leadership as a great blow to the organization.

Prof. Ivan Dzhadzhev was elected to a one-year term of office as chairman of the new 17-member leadership of the club. Representatives of 67 similar clubs around the country are to meet today to endorse the credentials of the club's delegation to the National Roundtable talks.

Club Denies Split

AU0403184690 Sofia BTA in English
1625 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—Yesterday's reports of a split in the Sofia-based Glasnost and Democracy Club were dismissed at the general meeting which the National Federation of Glasnost and Democracy clubs completed here late last night. Forty-two of the 68 such clubs were represented at the meeting which approved a program and a statute.

Several members of the Sofia Club, who do not want to commit themselves to the activities of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, left the club on Friday [2 March]. The writer Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova resigned from the leadership of the Sofia Club but was elected last night as member of the federation leadership. This leadership also includes Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, the writers Mr. Georgi Mishev, Mrs. Evgeniya Ivanova and Mr. Georgi Drumev, the sociologist Mr. Petko Simeonov, the historian Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev. The participants voted to confirm Mr. Petko Simeonov, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev as representatives of the Glasnost and Democracy Clubs to the Union of Democratic Forces.

The members of the federation support the union's position that elections for a Constituent Grand National Assembly should be held in June.

Dimitrova Still in Club

AU0603110290 Sofia BTA in English
1021 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—The well-known Bulgarian poetess Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova has never left the Glasnost and Democracy Club, as erroneously reported by the BTA External Services on March 3.

Her refusal to take part in the club's leadership was misconstrued by the copy desk editor. We offer our apologies to our subscribers and to Mrs. Dimitrova.

A statement by Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova, sent to the DEMOKRATSIYA daily and published in its issue today, reads as follows: "I declare categorically that I have never left the club. I remain committed to this organization and to its participation in the Union of Democratic Forces."

Italian Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit*AU0103175090 Sofia BTA in English
1717 GMT 1 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—Mr. Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, arrived here today to pay a visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov.

It is our most important purpose to achieve a qualitative leap forward in our bilateral relations, he said to a BTA reporter at the airport. Our relations have always been good, but now new vistas are opened for a qualitative leap both in our bilateral relations and in the relations between the European Community and Bulgaria. My visit coincides with the resumption of EC-Bulgarian negotiations, Mr. de Michelis pointed out.

It is expected that after the visit bilateral and multilateral contacts will continue in the field of economy and culture and, first of all, in the political sphere, which would contribute to an all-European agreement on cooperation and stability. Unity of action of Western and Eastern Europe is needed to promote democracy and economic development. I have in mind direct investments and cooperation on the part of the market-economy countries with the countries in Eastern Europe whose economies are rapidly transformed; in this respect Bulgaria offers considerable possibilities, Minister Gianni de Michelis said.

Meets UDF, BZNS Leaders*AU0103215390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 1 Mar 90*

[Text] Italian Foreign Affairs Minister Gianni de Michelis met today with the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF].

Following the talks, which lasted more than an hour, UDF spokesman Georgi Spasov reported that the main subject discussed was the forthcoming elections in Bulgaria. The common view was expressed, Georgi Spasov said, that the elections should not be delayed indefinitely, and that Bulgaria should not lag behind its partners in East Europe. The elections should take place in the process of democratization, with good conditions provided for both the ruling party and the opposition to take part in the election campaign.

Later the Italian foreign minister had a meeting with Viktor Vulkov, the newly elected chairman of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. As BZNS spokesman Ivan Glushkov reported, during the talks Viktor Vulkov acquainted the guest with the main issues connected with the 36th Extraordinary BZNS Congress. He described the topical tasks of the BZNS in the process of the democratization of social life and the efforts being made to create an agrarian union as a real force able to actively participate in the country's political life.

The Italian foreign minister expressed his pleasure at the opportunity given to him to learn about the process of renewal and to hold useful businesslike talks with the representatives of different political forces in Bulgaria.

Meets Boyko Dimitrov, Lilov*AU0103215690 Sofia BTA in English
2105 GMT 1 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Italy expressed their desire to intensify cooperation not only within the context of bilateral relations, but on a broader, all-European scale.

This was declared by Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and by his Italian counterpart, Mr. Gianni de Michelis. They expressed satisfaction with the business-like and constructive spirit of the dialogue they had which both ministers assess as laying the beginnings of an upsurge in cooperation.

We agreed on the exchange of regular visits which would contribute to the promotion of much better cooperation in the political, economic and cultural field, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov underlined. The two ministers reached an agreement on a new meeting in Italy in May or June, 1990.

The Italian side showed interest in the evolution of the political processes in Bulgaria. The dialogue with the West can help along these processes, Mr. Gianni de Michelis said.

He stated the position of the Italian Government that the integration of the East European countries into Europe should go at an equal pace to avoid any country's lagging behind or becoming isolated, naturally on condition that the democratic processes are real and if they are deepened.

Today the Italian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Gianni de Michelis, had a meeting with Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BCP Supreme Council.

At the talks a shared desire was expressed for activating the two countries' relations, great possibilities for which there are in the political, economic and cultural fields.

There are no obstacles to the promotion of the two countries' relations, all the more that now Bulgaria needs the support of Europe, Mr. Lilov stated, expressing his satisfaction that Italy understands the problems related to Bulgaria's joining the European economic structures. [passage omitted]

Meeting With Lukanov*AU0203154690 Sofia BTA in English
1449 GMT 2 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr. Gianni de

Michelis, Italy's minister of foreign affairs, are unanimous that Bulgaria needs international support for the efforts which it should make to cope with the crisis.

On the second day of his visit here, Mr. de Michelis conferred with Mr. Lukanov. They pointed to the great importance of activating Bulgaria's contacts with the European Community and with its members which are this country's major Western partners.

The Bulgarian prime minister stressed that Bulgaria can only solve the intricate political, economic and social problems it faces in the conditions of national concord. In the runup to the elections and after them, a government of national unity and concord would be most adequately consistent with the peculiarities of the stage through which the country is living and would meet the requirement for a peaceful and civilised transition to a democratic social system.

The Italian foreign minister told his host that he was favourably impressed by his talks in Sofia both with representatives of the official authorities and of other socio-political forces. In his view, favourable conditions are emerging in Bulgaria for wider international links and for integration into the efforts to build a new European society.

The sides outlined specific action for a further invigoration of Bulgaro-Italian cooperation.

The Bulgarian head of government sees opportunities for more joint ventures, more joint investment, wider human contacts. We find Italian experience useful in more respects than one, he pointed out.

Meeting With Mladenov

AU0203154890 Sofia BTA in English
1445 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, received Mr. Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs of Italy.

That was the last item on Mr. Michelis' schedule here. The sides considered the results of the two-day Bulgaro-Italian dialogue and the common understanding reached on the promotion of relations both bilaterally and within Bulgaria's relations with the European Community.

Mr. Mladenov expressed satisfaction with the specific results of the visit.

He reaffirmed the Bulgarian state leadership's determination to promote the development of democratic processes in the country and to create all conditions for holding really free and democratic elections.

Mr. Petur Mladenov briefed his guest on the steps he had taken for narrowing down the differences of the various political forces in the country and for a resumption of the round-table talks.

Joint News Conference Held

AU0203204190 Sofia BTA in English
1858 GMT 2 Mar 90

[“Italy Supports Bulgaria on its Road to Europe”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Italian Foreign Minister Mr. Gianni de Michelis believes that the elections in Bulgaria should not lag behind the elections in the other East European countries.

At a news conference here today he motivated this stand of the Italian Government by a concern lest East-West interrelations develop at different speeds for the different countries of Eastern Europe during the coming months. The whole of Eastern Europe will go through elections soon and, obviously, if this does not happen in all countries there is a danger of asymmetry which will affect the architecture of new Europe, Mr. Gianni de Michelis pointed out.

He expressed the confidence that before the summer Bulgaria will cover this road, which is not only in its best internal interests but will benefit the interrelations emerging in Europe.

The Italian foreign minister stressed that his country will share in the international support for the democratization process in Bulgaria. “However, this does not mean that we will be helping individual parties or forces. We will be helping Bulgaria, we will work with the government which is now running the country and with any future government,” he specified.

Mr. Gianni de Michelis said that the matter had been discussed at his two-day talks here and that he had declared Italy's unqualified support. A very accurate and intense working programme had been worked out for close cooperation between the two countries' Foreign Ministries. “Naturally, the bilateral relations between Italy and Bulgaria are very important, but the relationship between Bulgaria and the EC is just as important, and Italy can do a lot about it,” he said.

Sharing the assessments of his Italian counterpart, the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Mr. Boyko Dimitrov stressed the special importance of his visit for Bulgaria. He expressed his own conviction that Bulgaria must cover the road to Europe irrespective of the election results and of what parties and political forces will win.

“The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government is doing everything possible to do the necessary great and diverse preparatory work, including progress of political relations and getting the country's economy ready for advancement in business cooperation and for Bulgaria's membership in the international economic institutions,” Mr. Boyko Dimitrov said. He stressed that the Bulgarian people and Bulgaria's future will benefit from that. “This is our approach and we are glad that we found complete understanding,” the Bulgarian foreign minister said.

Asked to specify the qualitative leap in Bulgaro-Italian relations, Mr. Gianni de Michelis said that this dramatic development which he said earlier was ushered in by his visit covers political, economic and cultural relations. In his view there are worthwhile opportunities for action due to the similarity between the two countries' economies. The way in which the Bulgarian Government wants to develop its economy helps in this respect, too. "In the field of Bulgaria's economy we would like to proceed the way we did with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia," Mr. Gianni de Michelis said.

Premier Lukanov Leaves for Visit to France

AU2802192090 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today left on a working visit to France.

Meets Premier Rocard

AU0103102390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] On 1 March in Paris, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov, who is paying a brief working visit to France, met French Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

At the meeting, Michel Rocard confirmed that France approves Bulgaria's striving to more broadly open up for cooperation with Western partners. He said that Paris is ready to respond positively to Bulgaria's willingness to upgrade economic-trade relations between the two countries.

It is expected that the forthcoming 17th session of the Bulgarian-French Committee on Economic, Industrial, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which will take place this month in Paris, will give a specific direction to the agreements that have been reached in principle between Andrey Lukanov and Michel Rocard.

Andrey Lukanov will also have a meeting with Pierre Berezogovoy, French minister of economy, finance, and budget.

Economic Talks End

AU0103224090 Sofia BTA in English
2149 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Paris, March 1 (BTA correspondent)—In the new conditions Bulgaria is seeking new lines and new partners for carrying out economic cooperation, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, said today after his meeting with Mr. Michel Rocard, prime minister of France, and Mr. Pierre Berezogovoy, French minister of state for the economy, finance and the budget. Mr. Lukanov paid a short business visit to Paris which lasted less than 24 hours, and yet his busy programme made it possible to outline

the landmarks of the development of more dynamic Bulgaro-French economic relations.

There was much talk about the two countries' cooperation in the past, but very little was actually done. Now the talks were much more infused with content.

The approach of the two sides was business-like and concrete, the discussion was open, Mr. Lukanov pointed out. In contrast to the past, no difficulty was concealed. We discussed both the possibilities for cooperation and the problems we have got to face, he said. It is obvious that besides on her own efforts, Bulgaria will have to rely on solid international support to be able to overcome her difficulties, Mr. Lukanov said.

At today's French-Bulgarian talks attention was focused on French investments in Bulgaria, industrial cooperation and cooperation in the field of finance. Agriculture, tourism, the light industry, small enterprises seem to be the most prospect-holding. It is also possible to make use of France's experience in telecommunications and the application of ecologically safe technologies.

France's new orientation towards Eastern Europe holds long-term and lasting prospects. The French side stated that contacts will not be restricted to short-term agreements that would ensure quick refund of the investments. The French Government is ready to give the necessary guarantees against any "political risks" which the industrialists are afraid of.

Answering a question of the BTA correspondent, Mr. Andrey Lukanov confirmed that the Bulgarian Government will also give its foreign partners all internationally accepted guarantees foreign partners. It will stimulate economic initiatives for establishing contacts with foreign partners in all forms of property in Bulgaria through a respective legal and taxation system and by guaranteeing the possibility to transfer a previously agreed share of the profit.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscast at 1830 GMT on 1 March reported Andrey Lukanov's arrival at Sofia Airport from his brief visit to Paris]

New Bulgarian-French Friendship Society Forms

AU2402160890 Sofia BTA in English
1403 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Closer Contacts With France"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—"Every Bulgarian citizen should know at least one foreign language for his own benefit and for the benefit of the state," this is the motto of the newly established Bulgaro-French Friendship Society here. One of its major tasks is to organize courses for studying and improving the French language for adults, children and specialists. It is also planned to translate and publish fiction and specialized literature.

The society will popularize the democratic and cultural traditions of France and will contribute to the promotion

of business contacts between the two countries in the field of the economy by setting up joint ventures, joint-stock companies.

A shop selling French goods for Bulgarian currency will be opened in Sofia. There is an idea that the French-Bulgarian Friendship Society should open representations in France and in other French-speaking countries so that their people could learn about Bulgaria's cultural achievements which would also help establish business contacts between Bulgaria and foreign producers.

The means for the activity of the society will come from membership dues, economic activity, donation and charity.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

AU0303200490 Sofia BTA in English
1912 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, Prof. Joao de Deus Pinheiro, minister of foreign affairs of Portugal, who is also chairman of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Council of Europe, arrived on an official visit here this evening.

He is accompanied by Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe.

Pinheiro Meets Mladenov

AU0403204490 Sofia BTA in English
1934 GMT 4 Mar 90

["In Search of Europewide Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—Prof. Joao de Deus Pinheiro, minister of foreign affairs of Portugal and chairman of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Council of Europe, and Mrs Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, had a busy second day of their official visit here.

The guests were received by Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, who expressed satisfaction with the visit which creates prerequisites for the promotion and acceleration of contacts between the Bulgarian Government and the Council of Europe. Bulgaria reiterated its determination to meet the required legal and political conditions for membership of the council.

Mr Petur Mladenov discussed the problems which have to be solved by dialogue between the Government, the ruling party and the opposition with a view to holding democratic and free elections.

Mrs Lalumiere and Prof. Joao de Deus Pinheiro said they were optimistic about Bulgaria's future development and emphasized that the reforms underway in the country will speed up its integration with the Council of Europe.

The guests discussed the new opportunities for cooperation between the Bulgarian Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly. The CE [Council of Europe] officials showed interest in the country's legislature whose operation is planned to be radically reformed.

The chairman of the National Assembly pointed out that the experience of West European countries concerning the activities of political forces and their participation on an equal footing in public life is taken into account in drafting a number of bills.

Mr Todorov renewed the invitation to members of parliament from Council of Europe countries to monitor the forthcoming elections.

Conferring with Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, the guests were familiarized with the political situation in the country, with the preparations for the elections and with the conditions for a peaceful transition to democracy. The Bulgarian prime minister emphasized that all national political and public forces should act in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord and should place national interests before their party objectives for the sake of a peaceful transition. The government will keep doing everything possible to secure equal terms for the participation of the election campaign and in the elections proper and to safeguard law and order, he emphasized.

The guests expressed readiness for cooperation and support for Bulgaria's intentions to seek a special guest status and membership in the Council of Europe. There is willingness for specific assistance on political and economic matters within the council's competence.

Early in the morning the chief Portuguese diplomat conferred with Mr Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs. They considered a wide range of questions concerning bilateral cooperation and specified the opportunities for its promotion in the context of the reforms underway in Bulgaria. In this connection, they stressed that it would be expedient to prepare soon an investment protection agreement and an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation, to exchange experience with Portuguese managers in Bulgaria and to enter jointly third countries' markets.

Prof. Joao de Deus Pinheiro and Mrs Catherine Lalumiere, considering the difficulties into which Bulgaria is running, are rather optimistic about its future. The chief Portuguese diplomat told a pre-departure news conference that his optimism stems from the talks he has had here. "I am convinced that the Government and the opposition will find the best solutions for Bulgaria," he emphasized.

"We have the great political chance of achieving the transition to democratization and pluralism in a peaceful way, in the conditions of stability," Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, said at the press

conference. "The reluctance of the opposition to share responsibility for the country's development before November 10, 1989 may be understandable, but after the change everybody assume responsibility," he went on to say. "A confrontational approach poses the greatest threat to the present and the future."

After the news conference Mr Boyko Dimitrov handed the guests a letter reaffirming the Bulgarian Government's readiness for cooperation with the Council of Europe and its desire for integration with it.

The guests assessed in positive terms this country's human rights policy and the willingness to correct past mistakes in this area.

Bulgarian-German Friendship Organization Forms

*AU0703194790 Sofia BTA in English
1852 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—A group of scholars and lecturers at Sofia University "Kliment Okhridski", who have different political orientation, whose scientific and professional interests are connected with the history and culture, with the past and present of the German people, founded today a Club for Bulgaro- German Friendship "Collegium Alemania".

The aims of the founders are to contribute to deepening of mutual understanding and friendship between the two

peoples by improvement of contacts between scholars, lecturers and experts. Associate Professor Chavdar Naydenov was elected chairman of the Coordination Committee.

UK Company Proposes Joint Car Production

*AU0803084390 Sofia BTA in English
0813 GMT 8 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA)—The Rover Company (former British Leyland) offers to launch the joint production of cars in Bulgaria.

This was announced today by RABOTNICHESKO DELO in a correspondence from London. The daily writes that in case this transaction is realized, by the end of 1991 there will be 7,500 cars produced in Bulgaria, while in 1994—50,000.

Rover offers to import and assemble in Bulgaria the whole production line of cars brand Maestro, to provide know-how and train experts.

Representatives of the company have inspected ready production buildings which are now unused, near the town of Tolbukhin in northeastern Bulgaria, and have come to the conclusion that only insignificant reconstructions are necessary to adjust them for the future joint production.

Havel Speech Commemorates Masaryk Anniversary

LD0703151490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1218 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at rally in Hodonin to unveil statue of Tomas Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia, on 140th anniversary of his birth—live]

[Text] Dear friends, in the book "Profiles of Courage," John Kennedy compiled profiles of several politicians who have fought for their views, the truth of which they were convinced of, notwithstanding the fact that they would lose popularity by doing so. Some of them even knew that they would stand alone against everybody else, but nevertheless they still voiced their views. Senator [name indistinct] for example, was brave enough, after the war, against the opinion of the victorious powers and the entire world public to voice his doubts about the legal character of the Nuremberg trials.

Kennedy was not so much interested whether any of those politicians profiled were, in fact, right, but from where they got the courage to voice their beliefs. That most popular statesman of ours, who was born here in Hodonin 140 years ago, also belongs to the gallery of those for whom the truth was more important than their popularity. [applause]

In books about him, which no doubt will be published again, all those who do not know much about him will be able to read of at least two cases when he showed that the truth, which his conscience commanded him to defend, was put above public opinion. The first was his well-known struggle against the prevailing belief in the genuineness of the Zelena Hora and Kraluv Dvur manuscripts, which he started in 1886. The Czech nation at that time was completing the discovery of its national identity; its history, culture, and what could be called its national mythology were at that time drawn considerably from those manuscripts. To suddenly cast doubts on their genuineness meant, or at least it seemed to mean, to cast doubts on our right to exist. Masaryk was convinced that the manuscripts were fakes and said so quite clearly. He was convinced that a lie could never bring any good, and this too he said very clearly and often.

He wrote to Gebauer: I do not understand how anyone can claim that the nation's honor requires the manuscripts be defended. The nation's honor requires the defense—or the recognition of—the truth and nothing else. Morals and courage are greater when recognizing a mistake than in defending mistakes, even if shared by the whole nation. [applause]

Ten years later Masaryk spoke out in the (Hiltner) affair, not only in defense of the innocent, not only against superstition about ritual murders, but also against the then quite widely spread social anti-Semitism. In both cases, he earned for his views the great anger of the Czech public. In both cases, he and not the Czech public was right. But this is not the most important thing. If

John Kennedy in his book dealt with Masaryk, the (Hiltner) affair would be obvious at first glance, but he would hardly study the palaeographical, chemical, and above all grammatical arguments of Masaryk against the genuine character of our allegedly ancient manuscripts. He would no doubt, even in this case, be interested in something else—Masaryk's courage.

Masaryk became the darling of the nation because he was right and because the truth he defended prevailed, but possibly even more so because he was not afraid to tell the truth. [applause] Later he was respected and his cult promoted by the very same, or similar, Czech public, that previously—thanks to his unpopular stands—viewed him as a traitor. Masaryk did not only tell the truth but he personally guaranteed it. He guaranteed it by his entire scientific and political career because the truth and conscience were more important for him than any career. [applause]

I think that this dimension of Masaryk's behavior is especially topical today. We have been told lies for a long time, allegedly in the interests of the nation.

We knew it but at the same time we still let ourselves be influenced by official lies. Therefore, we can be shocked today by many a truth. We are even more shocked if somebody prefers his beliefs—whether justified or not—to his career.

The truth is on everybody's tongue today. But who is willing to make a stand today for the truth, alone against everybody? Who is today willing, when unprecedented career opportunities are opening to everybody, to close the door by saying something different than what is said by the entire nation? Who is willing, especially before the elections, to say anything that could create disagreement, resistance, or even the sincere anger of tens of thousands of people and to say it only because his conscience makes him? Hardly anybody.

I want to say finally that we should worship Masaryk less but think more about the real meaning of his life's bequest. [applause] He was not only a man who, as the law said, did a service to the state. He was at the same time mainly a man who although liable to mistakes—as we all are—inspired in the foundation of our modern state the idea of mortality and truth. The truth as something that is ethically anchored and guaranteed by a moral stand. It is a good political idea, mainly because it does not look political. However, it is a fact that the matters that apparently look quite apolitical can be most productive politically. These include the courage to stand by one's beliefs, which was so much admired by Kennedy.

Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, who was born here in 1850, knew how to stand by his beliefs. It is not a practical trait. If Masaryk did not have this quite impractical trait, he could hardly have founded our first democratic state and we would be without inspiration in modern history, now that we are trying with difficulty to follow the path to democracy again. Thank you for your attention.

Masaryk's Philosophy Returns to Prominence*LD0603165890 Prague CTK in English 1124 GMT
6 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—The present democratic process in Czechoslovakia is being influenced by a return to the philosophical ideas and opinions of the founder of the independent Czechoslovak State in 1918 and its first president Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, whose 140th birth anniversary Czechoslovakia will commemorate on March 7.

The basis of Masaryk's philosophical system is that there is a sense to everything when it is founded on a moral principle. Masaryk's humanism, above all, elevates respect for man and tolerance for the alternative view. The most important values of this philosophy are compassion and love for each other, and human conscience as the final instance in man's choice between good and evil. According to Masaryk such humanism is the basis of democracy.

Masaryk's philosophy, with its basic postulates, was unacceptable to the simplified communist views of the class struggle and class differentiated society, in which one class must suppress another. It was therefore in character with the period from 1948 to 1989 that during the Communists' monopoly of power, supporters of Masaryk's views were persecuted and his ideas could not be spread in any shape or form. His main works like "human ideals," "The Czech question" and "the world revolution" were banned.

It was only with the democratisation process which began last November and removed the totalitarian government of the communist party, that enabled a return to Masaryk's ideals and their implementation in Czechoslovak society.

Havel's 1948 'Putsch' Comments Criticized*AU0503133890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Feb 90 p 1*

[Zdenek Porybny commentary: "February"]

[Text] It is a time for soul searching and reappraisal. Through our eyes, from which the November events ruthlessly ripped away the blinkers of selective blindness, we now look upon many historical—so far indisputable—phenomena and we justifiably ask ourselves: Was it really the way we read about it, learned about it, and believed in it?

It is the same with February 1948, until recently presented as a victory for working people over attempts by reactionary political forces to reverse development in our country back to the pre-Munich republic social order. On 25 February, President Vaclav Havel stated something completely the opposite—"it was a putsch and not a glorious victory for working people over reaction. On the contrary: It was an inglorious victory for reaction over working people."

Assertion against assertion. What is the historical truth? It is definitely more complicated than either of the previous statements. First of all, power at that time was not seized by a small group of determined militiamen or conspirators, it was rather the culmination of a great political struggle in which all political forces participated on one or the other side. The fact that many more people, particularly from the working classes, were at that time on the side of the Communists, whose program they believed in and supported, is undeniable. Similarly, it is a fact that, just as in November 1989, this involved a combination of political pressure and pressure from below, or from the "street" as President Benes characterized it at that time. Today it is also certain that the "men of February" included supporters of the undemocratic road toward socialism, men who deceived the very masses of people who trusted them.

This was certainly a revolution accompanied by all the things a revolution brings—both parliamentary and unparliamentary elements, and both profoundly democratic and profoundly authoritarian elements. But was it a putsch in this negative and sharply undemocratic meaning of the word? I say this openly and with conviction—it was not.

It is a different matter that these authoritarian and violent elements, elements that were undoubtedly contained in the February 1948 events, in the end—as a consequence of the merciless logic of the Stalinist concept of socialism—prevailed in the life of our society and, after 40 years, brought the then revolutionary reversal to ruin. The most important lesson from February 1948 for today lies in this: Socialism without democracy is inoperable.

The fundamental strategic orientation of the reviving Communist Party of Czechoslovakia proceeds from this objective: to establish a democratic, pluralist, and socially just society. A society in which the free will of the majority of its members decides its fate, a society that, at the same time, respects the views of the minority, and a society that does not see its strength in the singular but in the plural.

Departing Soviets Provide Black-Market Goods*AU0803080890 Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY
in Czech 2 Mar 90 p 2*

[Frantisek Lauer article: "Will We Learn How Many Have Been Killed?; Colonel General Vorobyev Claims That No Arms Are Being Sold"]

[Excerpts] Do you want to buy an automatic camera or a perfect telescope at a bargain price? These days you can have such things for two or three bottles of vodka. A portable color television set will cost you 500 korunas and a refrigerator even less. You can buy other consumer goods and furniture as well. You will surely ask where you can get all these things so cheaply. The answer is

simple—in all localities with Soviet Army barracks. I got to know the above prices in Frenstat pod Radhostem on 26 February.

It has been known for years that there is a thriving black market existing between Soviet officers, their wives, and some Czechoslovak citizens, although one could not speak officially about sales of the above industrial goods, about the sale of gasoline for four korunas [a liter], or about the sale of scarce building materials. The situation has changed and people are quite open about these negative phenomena. Moreover, the Soviet Army is starting its definitive withdrawal from Czechoslovakia. Logically, prices are plummeting because these families need to take home goods that are in short supply in the Soviet Union. As Dalibor Norsky, secretary of the City National Committee in Frenstat pod Radhostem told me, from the human point of view he understands their purchases and the sale of articles to obtain money for them. The other side of the coin is that the locals are unable to get hold of many things and criticize the national committee because of the poor supply situation....

The subject of the shopping fever was also raised in Milovice on 24 February, especially during the news conference with Colonel General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR. We used this occasion to ask him a few questions that "burn" our readers.

The first question concerned sale of weapons, about which we heard in the garrison towns and about which readers, too, write to us:

"I have never heard of any sale of weapons," E. Vorobyev replied and continued: "After all, this is a criminal offense. Should such a case be ascertained, criminal proceedings would have to begin on both sides. Personally, I have not been informed of any case of a Soviet officer or soldier selling his weapon. If anyone knows about a specific case, let him report it to us. We will look into the matter instantaneously."

So much for the answer of the commander of the Central Group. On 26 February in Frenstat, we learned that weapons used to be offered for sale there. During the start of withdrawal from Bruntal on Monday, Civic Forum activists even formed a patrol. Even schoolchildren bought live ammunition there (at 10 korunas apiece). [passage omitted]

We also inquired about the number of casualties, i.e. about the number of Czechoslovak citizens who have been killed or severely injured as a result of Soviet activity. We did not receive a straightforward answer. The commander supposedly does not avail himself of precise data. He availed himself only of some, which was nevertheless interesting. In 1986, for example, five Czechoslovak citizens were killed and two severely injured. The figure for 1988 was two to three and for last year five to six, most of them as a result of road accidents.

Will you be leaving with your heads up?, we asked.

"You must understand us. We are soldiers. We were fulfilling orders. In your casewe could make a comparison with Afghanistan. Our government apologized for that entry, too. From the military point of view, we behaved correctly. We were fulfilling combat orders."

Let us add for the sake of completeness that some 11,000 Soviet soldiers and family members are at Milovice at present. [passage omitted] Because the command is situated there, it will be the last place [in Czechoslovakia] from which they will withdraw.

Dlouhy on Prospects for Economic Planning

AU0503134290 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
1 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, by Tibor Bucha; place and date not given—"Scope for State Intervention"]

[Excerpts] Recently, Vladimir Dlouhy, federal deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, addressed an international economic conference in Prague on the endeavor to establish—while making the transition to a market economy—a competition structure. Opening up to the world is a condition for this. It is true that foreign competition will develop only when foreign imports to Czechoslovakia increase significantly. [passage omitted]

[Bucha] How do you foresee the role of economic planning in Czechoslovakia?

[Dlouhy] I have already spoken about the necessity of discontinuing the old method of central planning. However, we do not want to abolish planning institutions as such, we only want to put some order into them. I inherited an institution with 850 people; 200 worked in research, 90 in the computer system sphere, and the rest at the nucleus of the State Planning Commission. This is a huge organization and, until now, was politically very conservative. I have had to ask approximately 180 people to leave the State Planning Commission during the first half of 1990. However, looking at it from the long-term point of view, I do not see its prospects so ambiguously—that is, if there is a complete change in the structure of all ministries responsible for the Czechoslovak economy! One of our ideas is to establish a ministry for economic affairs composed of the appropriate ministries, including the planning commission, and then establish a lower-level planning institution. This is the situation, for example, in Holland, France, and Japan; similarly, there are ministries for economic affairs in the FRG and Austria. I envision the new ministry, whatever its name may be, as an independent planning center. Its work should differ substantially from what has been carried out during the past 40 years in our country. Its activity would include long-term aspects involving, in particular, strategic development

forecasting, training the labor force, fundamental technological advancement, and so on. It will also be important to make provisions for our economy's continued adaptability to changes in the external environment. We are a small and open economy; we would lose a great deal due to our inability to adapt flexibly. Our everyday ability to react to immediate and short-term changes is a primary condition for success.

[Bucha] And from the longer-term view?

[Dlouhy] We would like to abolish five-year planning. After all, in the past, the five-year plan was nothing but a collection of figures that we did not manage to fulfill anyhow. I see a starting point in the preparation of two- to three-year strategic economic policy programs during the entire forthcoming conversion period. This establishes scope for the state's role in creating conditions for all structural changes and for the development of various policies—in energy, agriculture, and so on.

[Bucha] Have you not forgotten services?

[Dlouhy] That is a chapter in itself. Today only 40 percent of people are employed in this sphere, whereas in West Europe the number is more than 60 percent and in the United States almost 70 percent are employed in this area. We would like to achieve the European level in our country. However, we cannot assume that this merely involves a decision made at the top about the relocation of the labor force or capital. The government has to create conditions permitting structural changes to evolve from below. If this does not happen we will not attain our final goal. This involves not only promising and non-promising departments; we have to talk about good, or rather, bad companies and enterprises. Czechoslovakia has its "advantages"—we are, after all, the largest steel producer per capita, with the exception of Luxembourg; in other words, thanks to this "monoculture" we produce 15.6 million tonnes of steel, that is, each of us—including small children—has a tonne of steel to his name. This, you realize, is not good because we cannot eat or drink steel. However, I do not mean to say that the government intends to close down such plants and open others. There has to be clear guidelines for the changes which will be generated from below.

[Bucha] What will happen with short-term planning?

[Dlouhy] Again we see a solution in abolishing the standard one-year plans in their old concept. We believe that the one-year plan will become, in effect, the state budget, as is the case in developed economies. We will have to retain certain elements from the old planning system during the conversion period, but I see this for a maximum of two or three years only. We would also like to substantially reduce the number of direct planning targets in the plan. For example, the plan for 1990 contains 681 targets at a macroeconomic level. If we work this out at the enterprise level, we will get thousands and thousands of planning figures, something that used to cost the economy a bundle. We believe that next year we will be able to reduce this number to 60-80

targets. However, this will require great understanding at the enterprise level; it is, after all, a great change, but we have to introduce it. [passage omitted]

Komarek Promotes Foreign Investment

AU0603095390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
2 Mar 90 p 2

[Eva Prochazkova report: "We Are No Victims, Foreigners Are No Vultures"]

[Excerpts] Although the discussion of three economic laws—the law on the state enterprise, the law on joint stock companies, and the law on the private enterprise of physical persons—evidently was the most important point on the agenda of yesterday's session of the federal government, the interest of journalists at yesterday's regular news conference at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium initially focused on something different: What will the government do about the bulk purchases in our shops and gas stations? What will it do against the sale of real estate to foreign entrepreneurs at ridiculously low prices?

"The bulk purchases of food rightly alarm us," Docent Valtr Komarek, first CSSR deputy premier, replied. "We are even being criticized for having done more to disrupt the market than even Communists managed to do in 40 years! Yet the fact is that we all wanted to travel, which is why we opened the borders! Should we close them again? That is nonsense. But how is one to deal with this problem in a reasonable and civilized fashion?" Docent Komarek put forward several solutions that are available to the government—more rigid export bans, higher customs fees, the introduction of the sale of gasoline for vouchers, the hiring of additional customs officials, and, possibly, the reintroduction of mandatory exchange of money. He ruled out changes in the prices of subsidized food and an increase in wages. This solves nothing; the black-market rates adjust to such "tricks" with lightning speed. Everyone knows that bans and restrictions are not an ideal solution but the drawing closer of [Czechoslovak and Western] markets and exchange rates—the only real solution to this problem—is a longer-term issue.

And what about the sellout of the republic? "This is something that cannot happen without both sides striving for it. After all, under existing law no one, except a private person, can sell land or immovable property," Docent Komarek explained and went on to express the following wish: "Everyone has plenty of worries. I wish that, instead of being afraid, people started to do something. Let enterprises negotiate with foreign partners about cooperation and joint ventures! Let us realize that we are not victims on whom vultures are descending. It is in our own interest that foreign companies undertake business ventures in Czechoslovakia!"

Doomsayers will surely be disappointed to hear that an Office for the Administration of National Property [Urad pro spravu narodniho majetku] is taking shape under the Federal Ministry of Finance, which will

oversee transactions involving foreign partners, and that nothing will be sold before the unrealistic, extremely low prices of land and immovable property are changed, before we include in price calculations the value of location, the market value, etc. The national ministries of finance are working on this already.

When the subject of the three laws was brought up, one of them clearly dominated as far as the interest of journalists was concerned—the law on private enterprise of physical persons, a law for which everyone who wants to go into private business is impatiently waiting. However, the absence of this law is not the only obstacle to private enterprise. There is still a shortage of premises, of capital, etc.... The government is favorably disposed toward private enterprise because it will quickly improve the bad situation in services and retailing and will generate hundreds of thousands of jobs. [passage omitted]

In the end, the subject of the draft law on state enterprise was also broached. The draft has not yet been finalized; the existing draft did not pass. The government is not sure whether it has found an optimal solution or, in other words, a compromise between two strong lines of thought. The first argues that enterprises should keep their autonomy [samostatnost], that one should not privatize them and should not reinforce the powers of the founder. The second line of thought demands a quick transition toward market economy, privatization, the immediate founding of enterprises modeled on Austrian joint stock companies, the start of liquidation of bankrupt enterprises, etc.... V. Komarek's opinion is that "autonomy has not proved to be good either in Czechoslovakia or abroad. Moreover, endless bargaining might prevent enterprises from becoming consolidated in the present restless situation. One hundred percent of enterprises are state-owned and it is therefore the state's duty to provide them with good management, to detach them from the ministries' administration, and to make sure that employees and workers participate in management. At the same time, enterprises should be given the opportunity to switch to joint stock companies. The possibility of privatization in the future should also be provided for."

While the date of the validity of this law is uncertain, the other two economic laws should be presented to parliament next week and go into force at the beginning of April. [passage omitted]

French Minister Suggests Economic Reform Plan AU0603083590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 3 March on page 2, under the headline "Now Is A Suitable Moment," carries a 600-word "(PP)"-signed report on a lecture delivered by Lionel Stoleru, French secretary of state for planning, on Czechoslovak economic reform. Stoleru had been invited to Prague by Vladimir Dlouhy, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

According to Stoleru, "If we want to introduce a market economy, we must respect four rules of the game. Prices must be established on the basis of supply and demand, enterprises must bear complete responsibility for conducting their economic affairs, including their bankruptcy, there must be a money market so that whoever saves can lend money to whoever needs it, and the domestic market must maintain contact with the world market."

The French minister outlined three phases for the conversion to a market economy. During the first phase, new rules should be adopted, and it is particularly necessary to change the pricing system. The second phase involves dealing with the imbalances that occur in the first phase. Fundamental structural changes accompanied by privatization occur in the third phase.

In Lionel Stoleru's opinion, "West European countries are prepared to assist East European countries overcome difficulties on the road to a market economy because only a united Europe is capable of regaining the leading position in the world economy, a position which years ago it lost to the United States."

Finance Minister Defends Agriculture Policy AU0703133590 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Mar 90 pp 1,2

[Letter from Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus to Frantisek Vaclavik, chairman of a united agricultural cooperative in Tecovice, Zlin district: "Making Monetary Relations Transparent"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman,

I am replying to your open letter, entitled "Invitation to a Visit and Discussion," which ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY published on 15 February 1990 [in which Vaclavik contested CSSR Government representatives' claims about CSSR agriculture being oversubsidized and invited them to familiarize themselves with the conditions under which agricultural cooperatives operate]. I gladly accept your invitation to enter into discussion. I would also like to accept the invitation to pay a visit but, unfortunately, I am unable to do so for the time being because of lack of time. Sometimes in the future, perhaps, I will be able to pay a visit. However, I set one condition for our discussion, which, as I hope, will not be hard to meet. You must concede to me the right and the goodwill to be neutral.

As minister of finance, I am equally fond of farmers as I am of miners, supermarket cashiers, or railroad workers, and I have no reason—and, above all, must not have a reason—to distinguish between teachers, let us say, or sailors. At all these places people work—and not only in agriculture, as you write—and participate equally in our social guarantees. If I think that there are some problems in some branch, it is not because I have less respect for the people who work there but because there evidently

are problems in the branch. Giving priority to departmental interests leads nowhere. I do not know why the chairman of one agricultural enterprise—all the more so if it is an efficient cooperative—should feel obliged to defend an entire branch for which he is not responsible and whom therefore no one blames for anything.

One of the main principles by which I am guided in my efforts to transform our national economy into a market economy is transparency. One must be able to see through things; they must be transparent like a glass of water, and comprehensible. It is precisely the absolute absence of transparency that lies at the heart of agriculture's problem. It is much harder to see through this than through other branches. It is impossible to find out what things cost and how much everyone is paying for them. I hasten to add, however, that this is not a verdict on some sort of farmers' "guilt." I would not have to make this self-evident supplementary remark if I did not know in advance how sensitively many people will react to such a statement.

If you want to hear a verdict of guilty, nonetheless, then it must be meted out to the system, which certainly is not the invention of farmers. It was imposed on them in the fifties and they were the ones who opposed it most strongly of all. I am not a historian nor the chairman of the Supreme Court, however, but the minister of finance. And a minister of finance must insist on the transparency of things. In agriculture it does not exist. There is no prospect of an end to haggling about subsidies as long as monetary relations are not transparent. Until they are made transparent we should stop all disputes on this subject, lest we start to resemble Sicilian families who had fallen out with each other in the 17th century, and who are now trying to figure out to which family the cousin delivering the first blow belonged.

However, one thing is absolutely clear. Agriculture was forced to follow the "cold war" concept of self-reliance in the production of food. The outcome of this concept—the great cost-intensiveness of the production of food in our country—was inevitable. If someone wants to produce the greatest possible amount of agricultural produce, he is forced to use extremely low-value land, must make excessive use of fertilizers, and must keep alive even those enterprises that, given a slightly more open policy toward imports, would never be able to survive. Here, too, agriculture is free of guilt, but I must repeat that the verdict of who is guilty is not what should interest us.

It is also necessary to see the diametrical difference between agricultural subsidies in our country and in Western market economies. Subsidy in Czechoslovakia means, with a bit of didactic hyperbole, the following: "I beg you, take this money and sow the slopes of Pec pod Snezkou [winter sport resort in Bohemia] with corn. We will be grateful for every ear of grain that will grow there." In the Western market economies, a subsidy means the exact opposite. Again, with a bit of hyperbole, it means the following: "Farmers of Pec pod Snezkou.

Here is money. You will get it if you do not sow any corn but you must not move out but must attend to your cottages and the whole landscape because these are things of great value."

The use of the argument that even Western economies subsidize agriculture or that agricultural subsidies there are even higher than in Czechoslovakia (this argument is to be found in RUDE PRAVO of 26 February 1990) testifies either to deliberate obfuscation of the gist of the problem or to miscomprehension. While subsidies in Czechoslovakia make food cheaper for the consumer, agricultural subsidies in the EC countries, for example, make food more expensive.

The question of whether the national economy pays for agriculture has been raised neither by the staff of my ministry nor by the economists who help us. We all realize that for a long time to come, we will have to pay for the damage caused by the economic command management. Resources generated in agriculture and in other branches of the national economy used to be redistributed arbitrarily and inefficiently to finance questionable and wrong purposes.

The main instrument of the redistribution of resources in agriculture was the purchase price (later procurement price) of agricultural products, linked with mandatory deliveries and a monopoly on procurement. Unlike in other branches of the nationalized industry, the procurement price was set below cost. This laid the groundwork for relatively low food prices and became the economic instrument of collectivization. The low earnings of farmers in the initial stages of collectivization, which you mention in your open letter, were a consequence of this "political" function of the price. Let us also not forget that resources siphoned off from agriculture, at the expense of farmers' living standards, were the source of financing for the so-called socialist industrialization.

In the sixties, when the threat of a food shortage jeopardized the political stability of the system, it became evident that it would be necessary to cover the production costs incurred by agricultural enterprises. Even today, however, after a series of increases in procurement prices, it is estimated that procurement prices cover only about 80 percent of the cost of agricultural production.

Opaque barriers of subsidies, support payments, and negative turnover taxes have been erected between agriculture, the other branches of the national economy, and food consumers. This is why most subsidies financed from the state budget are connected with agriculture. At the same time, it is not possible to assert that they amount to a subsidization of agriculture or—as used to be claimed in the sixties—to "assistance to agriculture." In short, one cannot speak at all about other branches of the national economy "footing the bill" for agriculture. (Indirectly, it is even possible to prove the opposite. Cooperative enterprises, which are prevalent in agriculture, have proved to be superior to many state farms.)

A high level of subsidies and price supports is incompatible with the functioning of a market. In such conditions the price loses its informational function. The present "economic instruments of managing agriculture" encourage many agricultural enterprises to attend more to meeting the conditions making them eligible for a subsidy than to reducing per-unit production costs. The food industry handles wastefully the "cheap" raw agricultural produce and people handle wastefully the "cheap" bread. I gather that this is not a situation with which good agricultural managers can be satisfied.

Whereas the reproduction needs (cost plus profit) of the other branches of the national economy are fully covered by the wholesale price, the procurement price in agriculture covers these needs only partly and the remaining part is covered by subsidies. The following table shows their steadily growing volume:

	Development of Noninvestment Subsidies Granted to State and Cooperative Agricultural Enterprises (in Czechoslovak korunas):
1980	—12,107,000,000
1985	—18,137,700,000
1989	—30,618,800,000

No solution is available other than placing the prices of agricultural products and food on a sound economic foundation. This means that prices must cover the production costs and the profit of agricultural and food industry enterprises. As today's production costs are very high, food prices must also be high, for the time being. This is a very unpopular fact, but one cannot escape from it by feigning low prices and offsetting them with huge subsidies.

We all would certainly be happy if our agriculture (and all other branches) were equally productive as that of the United States, for instance. The tough fact is, however, that we have Czechoslovak productivity levels, which are low. The only way of getting at the problem of cost in agriculture (and everywhere else, of course) is to open agriculture and the food industry to domestic and foreign competition, to enterprise of every kind. Only this competition can show—and quite surely will show—that it is possible to produce at far lower cost than is the case today. Ultimately, agricultural subsidies will play the same role in Czechoslovakia as they play in advanced market economies—i.e. the role of protecting less productive regions and agricultural enterprises against the consequences of the low costs and low prices determined by the most productive enterprises.

The policy of curtailing subsidies channeled into production, including agricultural production, pursued by the ministry of finance therefore means nothing else but pressure on costs. Its aim is to discontinue production wherever production costs are disproportionately high and to channel resources into increasing production

where better conditions exist for it. What applies to agriculture applies analogously and self-evidently to all other branches as well.

[signed] Engineer Vaclav Klaus, candidate of sciences, CSSR minister of finance

IMF Mission Begins Work in Prague

LD0803095590 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT
8 Mar 90

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CTK)—A working mission of representatives of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank from Washington started their work these days in Prague at the Federal Ministry of Finance.

Its aim is to gain basic data on the development of the Czechoslovak economy and foreign-exchange economy necessary for considering the state of the Czechoslovak economy and for computing Czechoslovakia's membership quota in these organizations.

The delegation has already held talks with Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus. During its two-week stay in Prague, the delegation will visit many central bodies and institutions with the aim to learn the basic trends of development of the Czechoslovak economy and approaches to the management of individual spheres of the economy.

The group will then work out a detailed report on the state of the Czechoslovak economy on the basis of which the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank will decide Czechoslovakia's admission into these organizations.

Successful negotiations of the mission in Prague should create prerequisites for Czechoslovakia's admission into the International Monetary Fund already in September at an annual session of the fund and the World Bank.

Stracar Addresses Workers' Representatives

LD0803101890 Prague Television Service in Czech
1830 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Talks were held in Prague today between directors, chairmen of workers' councils and trade union organizations from the enterprises and the Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering and the management of this ministry.

The new minister, Slavomir Stracar, delivered the main report. He said that the priority task was to complete by the end of March, at the latest, the replacement of personnel in leading posts and to put an end to expressions of lack of confidence and struggles for positions in enterprises. This is the last dateline by which unqualified

and corrupted people and the people who actively promoted the post-1968 normalization should be removed from leading posts.

Because in December, January, and February there was a production shortfall of almost 4 per cent, there exists a great risk of economic destabilization. This is why balanced planning will temporarily be resumed until the time when the commodities, capital, and labor market starts to function properly. The minister then went on to say that the completion of important capital investments will be firmly monitored. For example, if Hydrokrak in Bratislava is not completed in time, there exists the risk that petrol could be rationed in the summer.

The draft of the new law on state enterprise, which will be redrawn once more, is of key importance. Self-management as well as elections of directors are not considered to be management methods of the future. Priority will be given to the establishment of private ownership and joint stock companies. Approximately 40 percent of enterprises should remain in state ownership. It was also stated that the present prices cannot outlive the year 1990 and therefore in the case of some items we shall commence switching to world prices this year.

As far as the relationship to CEMA is concerned, worthless multilateral agreements are coming to an end and only bilateral business contracts between organizations will be concluded. Regarding electronics, support will be given to maximum possible imports from advanced foreign countries.

Klaus Urges Forint-Koruna Exchange Adjustment

*LD0603222890 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Evelyn Forro telephone report from Prague]

[Excerpt] The Czechoslovak finance minister said that he has sent a letter to his Hungarian counterpart in which he urged that the forint-koruna exchange rate be changed because the current one is not considered realistic whatsoever. Vaclav Klaus announced this late on 5 March in a television debate, and he also said that he recently had visited Slovakia, and he himself had observed the onslaught to buy up things. At that time, he promised to the Slovak government that he would raise the matter, and he sent the letter on 8 March [date as heard]—that is, yesterday. [passage omitted]

Trade Unions Remain Outside Confederation

*AU0603130390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 March 90 pp 1, 2*

[Vitezslav Havlicek report: "Trade Union Congress Begins"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—The extraordinary congress of trade unions, for which 2,664 delegates, representing almost 60 trade unions, were elected, begins in Prague's Palace of Culture today, Friday.

The extraordinary congress is to conclude the formation of revived trade unions so that they correspond to contemporary needs and to the ideas of its members, so that they be independent of the government, parties and enterprises.

While the introductory part of the congress is prepared according to the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] statutes as an all-trade union [vseodborovy] congress, the main object of which will be to evaluate the reports of the chairman of the ROH Action Committee and that of the Central Trade Union Council Auditing Commission, the second part—all-union [vsesvazova]—is supposed to discuss the setting up of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions, which has been proposed as the new highest body of trade unions.

The congress' deliberations, as confirmed also by the representatives of individual trade unions at the 1 March meeting with journalists, will not be easy. According to Karel Henes, chairman of the ROH Action Committee, the documents for the congress have not been satisfactorily prepared. Special care should be given to the division of trade union property, which amounts to 16 billion Czechoslovak korunas.

The efforts for trade union unity cannot be confused with a monopoly of one trade union organization in the representation of the working people. Nevertheless, the declaration of the representative of the Czechoslovak Confederation of the Art and Culture Trade Unions, which associates members of 13 independent trade unions, that they will not join the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions, attracted attention.

Independent trade unions in our country, in contrast to other countries, do not take shape alongside the existing organization but, on the contrary, they are formed mostly from the existing members' base by means of democratic elections of new organs and by the formation of trade unions according to the needs and interests of individual professions. The final phase of overcoming the outdated structures apparently will not be free of confrontations, the spokesman for the congress preparatory committee said. The congress should permit the democratically elected delegates to democratically decide the future of trade unions in harmony with the interests of members.

Slovak Trade Unionists Form New Organization

*AU0603141590 Prague PRACE in Czech
2 Mar 90 pp 1,2*

["rh, kjk"-signed report: "Demand for Symmetry Between the Republics"]

[Text] Bratislava—Was it deliberate or was it a pure coincidence? We do not know. The fact is that the thick folder that we received in the press center of the First All-Union Congress of Slovak Trade Unions yesterday morning included the eight-page journal SLOVENSKY

KOVAK [Slovak Metal Worker], whose lengthy introductory article, entitled "Why We Decided Not To Go to the Slovak Congress," was simply impossible to overlook.

Naturally, we carefully studied the metalworkers' arguments explaining why they decided not to attend the congress as delegates but as observers only. We learned that the majority of delegates at the congresses of individual trade unions in Slovakia decided to elect delegates to the all-union (all-trade union) congress that is starting in Prague today. Only some congresses elected delegates for the Slovak congress as well. Originally, the Slovak congress was to be held only in the second half of March [after the federal congress]. The Slovak Chamber of the Metal Workers' Trade Union at the same time warns in its program that the holding of a Slovak congress logically requires deliberations at the same level in the Czech Republic as well. In other words, it warns that the formation of additional organizational structures poses the real danger of extending the existence of the old trade unions, something which the absolute majority of trade union members in Czechoslovakia does not want.

However, let us leave aside the metalworkers' position and take a look in the congress hall of the Bratislava Park of Culture and Repose where 890 delegates—75.2 percent of the 1,183 delegates who had been invited—opened their one-day congress shortly after 0800.

The first to take the floor was Jozef Prokes, member of the Forum of the Coordinating Committees of the Working People of Slovakia. He said that if we embrace the idea of building trade unions from below, as primary organizations demand, then we must respect the independence of individual trade unions. Who else if not they can act as independent representatives of the working people in defending their rights and justified demands. [passage omitted] Jozef Prokes also spoke about the mounting strike movement. The right to call a strike remains with the primary organizations, but it is necessary to proceed prudently in order to prevent disruption of the national economy. In this connection he expressed the view that binding rules will have to be worked out. [passage omitted]

The debate focused on the future structure of the trade union umbrella organization. Representatives of virtually all trade unions present at the congress expressed themselves in favor of a symmetrical organizational model, i.e. in favor of the formation of trade union confederations at the level of the republics.

At around 1530, the relatively calm and regulated surface of the debate was "rippled" by delegates with an advisory vote on who represented federal trade unions at the congress. In their factual comments, they inquired about the relationship between the congress and the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions that is

taking shape.... After the flareup of passions the Presidium decided, after 1600, to end the debate and take up the discussion of the documents that had been submitted to the delegates.

The conclusion of the First All-Union Congress of Independent Slovak Trade Unions was marked by an even greater nervousness than its beginning. This was mainly due to the awareness of those present that at 2000 the great majority of delegates would have to depart for the constituent congress of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions in Prague and that the basic documents laying the groundwork for the status of the Independent Slovak Trade Unions as a legal entity would have to be discussed and approved by then. The pressure of time therefore had a very negative impact on the observance of fundamental democratic rights and principles in discussing and approving the Charter of the Independent Slovak Trade Unions and other materials. The controversy reached the boiling point shortly before 1730 when delegates of the Slovak Trade Union of Construction Workers left the conference hall in protest against the violation of the aforementioned principles....

What, then, did the delegates agree on in the end? First and foremost, on the name Independent Slovak Trade Unions [Nezavisle slovensky odbory] (NSO); on Jozef Prokes as their chairman; and on Cyril Strelecky as executive secretary of the NSO Assembly [Snem NSO]. They also agreed that the validity of the documents approved would be limited by the date 31 March 1990. An NSO Congress must be convened by then, which will once again discuss and approve their amended wording. [passage omitted] The Slovak trade unionists departed for the Prague congress with the determination to enforce the demand that an equivalent republican confederation of trade unions be set up in Bohemia and Moravia, together with which the NSO would form a federal umbrella body.... The tumultuous course of the congress in the Prague Palace of Culture today and tomorrow is thus guaranteed in advance.

CPSL Chairman Supports Ethnic 'Coexistence'

*LD0703225990 Prague Television Service
in Slovak 2030 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] [Announcer] Peter Weiss, Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Executive Committee chairman, met newsmen today at a news conference in the CPSL building in Bratislava. He answered questions from the audience, of which we select the following:

[Question] [Words indistinct] (?we reviewed the case of Budaj and Comrade Schuster) and Comrade Schuster himself said then that pressure was being exerted on him by the CPSL.

[Weiss] As far as the pressure on the chairman of the Slovak National Council is concerned, I would, I think, repeat myself if I expound on this topic again. It is natural that a person is always influenced by the environment in which he lives and functions. It is natural

that Rudolf Schuster could not fail to be influenced by the events that took place in the course of the whole complex period and not only by the events in the deputies' club. In addition, he was not present at the whole session of the deputies' club. He spoke there and said that he made himself available, in fact, and that his personal interests were not important.

[Announcer] Peter Weiss also spoke on the topic of provocative acts and pamphlets.

[Weiss] I would like to take this opportunity and dissociate myself once again from various pamphlets that are being mailed around the republic, not only to party organizations but also to other places by various self-appointed groups, which use our party's name, claiming that they are a Bratislava mobilizing committee and Communists striving for a moral revival. I can responsibly say that these are actions of the groups that have nothing in common nor any contact with the party's leadership. I think that mailing these pamphlets has no purpose in a political sense and that it will upset the political atmosphere. In no case will the party's leadership back actions of this kind.

[Question] A point of view is now indirectly penetrating into the public that the party is behind nationalist unrest, fostered at various venues such as the Slovak National Council session. Please refute this.

[Weiss] The situation that has developed is not the consequence of an organized conspiratorial activity of our party only, but of any other party. In the difficult period and in the crisis situation, I would say, in which our society finds itself, nationalism is simply an easy way of attracting attention or implementing one's short-term goals. Our party does not kindle these extremist approaches and nationalist passions and, on the contrary, in keeping with its real political influence aims its efforts at extinguishing these passions as quickly as possible. In this direction, we are backing the effort of the government, which was presented at its session in Komarno. I would like to emphasize that we have no interest at all in nationalist squabbles. Well, for God's sake, we will have to live side by side on this territory with the Hungarians, Ukrainians, and Ruthenians for many long decades, perhaps even centuries. There is no other way but to agree, to maintain a good standard of coexistence, and to enrich one another.

Press Accused of Exaggerating Ethnic Problems

LD0703230290 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] The release from oppression in East Europe is bringing to the surface a number of problems kept secret up to now. In this vein, we have been hearing a lot recently about the troubles of the Magyar minority in Slovakia. Two Czechoslovak civil rights activists today were speaking at a news conference to our colleague, Julia Torday, about how these tensions are viewed on the other side of the border.

[Begin Torday recording] Incisive questions demanding concrete answers and evasive meaningless replies: This is how the press briefing by the member of the Czech Civic Forum leadership and a member of the Slovak Public Against Violence leadership may be described in shorthand. What could be deciphered from the answers of (Viktor Dobalis)?

The nationality problem is an artificially created thing and as such, it is negligible and something that will solve itself with time, said (Pavol Nikula). The leader of the Slovak movement sharply criticized Hungarian radio's Prague correspondent who, in his view, strongly exaggerated when reporting on the anti-Hungarian demonstration in Bratislava, for example. Pavol Nikula claimed that only 200 people assembled silently; the correspondent simply did not inform the Hungarian public objectively.

At the same time, he called the attention of the press representatives present at the briefing to the dangers of conveying distorted information and he recommended, in a veiled fashion, the replacement of unobjective journalists.

According to a statement by the Public Against Violence leaders, they agreed this morning with the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum that anti-Magyardom in Slovakia is enlarged by the Hungarian press: The nationality problem is, in effect, part of the political party struggles prior to the elections, and no more than that.

In reply to my question as to why an all-federation parliamentary committee had been created to uncover the causes behind the strengthening of nationalism, the Civic Forum representative said he had no knowledge of such a committee, but he disputed the necessity of the all-federation assembly dealing with this issue.

The Public Against Violence representative added that there would be committees dealing with nationality issues in both the Czech and Slovak parliaments, and these will be made up of parliamentary deputies.

By the way, the leaders of the two movements fundamentally agreed with the tenet of the Election Act which states that the person entering the Czechoslovak parliament as a deputy, regardless of his nationality, is the one whose party exceeds the five-percent election threshold. In their view, the nationality issues in Czechoslovakia are not of such significance that Poles, Germans, Gypsies, and Magyars should be ensured independent representation.[end recording]

'Council of Poles' Prepares for June Elections

LD0403212290 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT
4 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, March 4—Tadeusz Wantula was elected chairman of a nine-person Council of Poles on the final day of the first congress of Poles living in Czechoslovakia

late Saturday, organized at the initiative of the Polish section of the Citizen's Forum. The congress was attended by 300 representatives of all six organizations of the 60 thousand-strong Polish national minority functioning in Czechoslovakia currently.

Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a cable to participants of the congress with words of greetings and best wishes. The congress was also attended by Polish senators, activists of the "Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity" and by Polish ambassador to Czechoslovakia Włodzimierz Mokrzyński.

The congress debates revealed large number of problems demanding quick solution in the Helsinki spirit, that is the observance of human rights. Poles, especially living in the Tesin Silesia region, were very often not only discriminated during the past several dozen years but also did not have in practice the possibility to speak out about all their problems.

The newly elected chairman of the Council of Poles said that the leading task is to secure a Polish representation in the Federal Assembly during the June 8 elections. The electoral campaign is to be carried together with the Hungarian minority. However as one can expect this will not be an easy task for the electoral law adopted by parliament last week, together with the five per cent vote clause, does not guarantee for national minorities seats in the Czechoslovak Parliament.

New Romany Group Outlines Goals, Initiatives

AU0603145190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 5 March on page 6 carries a 650-word interview with Engineer Koloman Gunar, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Party for the Integration of Romanies [Strana integracie Romov], by Jan Immer entitled "We Must Raise Our Standards Alone." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with the aims of this "first political party of Romanies," which has been registered in Slovakia since the beginning of February. Gunar, whose party is based at Humenne in East Slovakia, says that the party strives to improve Gypsies' living conditions. It wants to start with the "comprehensive and systematic influence" on children, which will hopefully result in a rise in the percentage of Gypsy children who attend kindergarten and school as a prerequisite for their "assertion in society." According to Gunar, the party also intends to work on a solution to the Gypsies' housing problem but is opposed to the construction of special housing developments for them. Asked how his party's program differs from that of the Romany Civic Initiative [Romska občianska iniciatíva], Gunar says: "We have much in common, but not everything. They demand, for example, the recognition of Romanies as a national minority. Our party does not enforce this demand. We regard ourselves as an ethnic group that is part of the Slovak nation. Likewise, unlike the civic initiative, we believe that it is not necessary to establish separate Romany schools."

UK's Waldegrave Details Prague Visit

LD0103192990 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT
28 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)—Britain is greatly interested in cooperation with Czechoslovakia and development of democracy in the country, British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs William Waldegrave said at a press conference before his departure here today.

During his visit to Prague several agreements have been prepared which will be completed in the forthcoming weeks.

He said he considers the proposal by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel delivered in the U.S. Congress a week ago "productive". The Czechoslovak president proposed to accelerate the all-European conference of chiefs of state and government planned for 1992, called Helsinki 2, and change it into a peace conference which would definitely conclude the issue of World War Two. He stressed that Britain agrees with Vaclav Havel's stand on this question.

Minister Waldegrave confirmed that he discussed also the unification of Germany with President Vaclav Havel. Britain supports the unification but points to the fact at the same time that it is necessary to solve some questions connected with it—security structure of Central Europe after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the German territory, what guarantees will be given to the Soviet Union as regards its security, what consequences will have the participation of today's GDR in the European communities. The British and Czechoslovak attitudes are very close, William Waldegrave underlined, and added that he discussed with Czechoslovak representatives a whole range of spheres of cooperation between the two countries.

After the press conference William Waldegrave left Czechoslovakia.

British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs William Waldegrave visited Czechoslovakia on February 27-28, 1990.

During his visit he conferred with President Vaclav Havel, First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky, Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus and Archbishop Cardinal Tomasek. He had also talks with First Deputy Foreign Minister Robert Harencar, rector of Charles University Radim Palous, member of the Civic Forum Foreign Committee and organizers of the Czechoslovak-British Association.

During his visit William Waldegrave discussed various programs of technological assistance and cooperation. These programs will be dealt with during the visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Britain on March 21-22.

Austrian Foreign Minister Mock Visits Prague
LD0803094490 Prague CTK in English 2305 GMT
 7 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and visiting Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock today analysed prospects of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations in connection with changes of the political situation in Czechoslovakia and called for their substantial extension in all spheres.

During their talks that opened shortly after the Austrian minister's arrival, they agreed that inter-state agreements should be signed only if the participation of the state is necessary in the development of contacts. In other cases, citizens, towns, enterprises, schools and institutions should take the initiative.

Jiri Dienstbier informed the Austrian guest of the complicated situation on the home market in the border region that occurred after the change of the course of exchange between the Austrian schilling and the Czechoslovak crown and after the introduction of visa-free travelling, and asked Minister Mock to help solve the problem, e.g. by taking stricter customs measures.

Later in the day, Jiri Dienstbier and Alois Mock opened here a meeting of a working group of Czechoslovak and Austrian historians who will analyse history and relations between the two countries after the disintegration of the Austria-Hungary monarchy through the years 1918, 1938 and 1945 till the recent past.

The ministers signed a memorandum on the joint initiative of Czechoslovakia and Austria in the United Nations that proposes to work out an additional protocol on the Vienna accord on consular relations of 1964.

The talks of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock that continued in an unscheduled session into this afternoon, were marked by friendship and cordiality, and an atmosphere of openness and efforts for constructive solutions and concrete results.

Alois Mock promised that the Austrian side will deal with the questions of tourism that are causing problems for the home market in the Czechoslovak border regions. The guests also offered the possibility of broad exchanges of young people and assistance in the training of students and teachers, and refresher courses for diplomats, physicians, historians and managers as well as technological participation in ecologically safe combustion of lignite.

The two sides discussed the establishment of another border crossing near Bratislava and the termination of a five-km highway section that would link up with the Vienna-Budapest route.

Alois Mock asked for the establishment of a Czechoslovak consulate general in Salzburg.

The ministers exchanged views on the so-called four-party initiative—Austria, Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia—and on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), mainly in relation to the Helsinki II meeting.

Austrian minister Alois Mock was received by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky.

The two representatives exchanged views on the further development of all-round cooperation between the two countries and expressed the conviction that their good neighbourly relations will contribute to the present positive trends in Europe.

Later in the day, the Austrian minister laid a wreath at the statue of St. Wenceslas. Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier thanked Alois Mock for his recognition of the brave struggle of hundreds of thousands of people in November. "This is not only a tribute but also an immense pledge not to lose our chance, and with the same consistency with which we strove for the overthrow of the old regime, to endure the hard work that is before us. International recognition is for us an immense capital—now we must make it grow", Jiri Dienstbier emphasized.

Then the Austrian guests together with Jiri Dienstbier went to the Opletalova Street in front of house no.41 where prominent Austrian writer, native of Prague, Franz Werfel lived in 1903-1912. Together with Prague mayor Jaroslav Koran, Alois Mock unveiled a memorial tablet there.

Earlier today, Alois Mock delivered a lecture in Prague on the theme Austria and Czechoslovakia in the new Europe. He pointed out inter alia the historical link of the Austrian and Czechoslovak peoples under the slogan of Emperor Rudolf II "concordia discordantium".

That is why the barriers in people's minds and hearts, which separated the two countries' peoples for so long, must be cut off like border fences, or pulled down like border walls, though it might be even more difficult, Alois Mock said.

He outlined four pillars that would carry the architecture of Europe. The all-European economic scope should help create a zone of free trade. The all-European environment agency should fulfil the role of monitoring. The all-European legal system should control the observance of human rights. Most difficult of all will probably be to create an all-European security system that will at first exist beside military alliances, later perhaps will take their place.

This new Europe will not come to being overnight. Austria is ready and willing to build it up together with Czechoslovakia and other states of the continent, Alois Mock concluded.

Nuclear Power Discussed With Calfa

LD0803095290 Prague CTK in English 2308 GMT
7 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 7 (CTK)—Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock was interested in progress of political and economic reforms in Czechoslovakia that create concrete prerequisites for the quick development of cooperation during his meeting with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa here tonight. The two representatives discussed prospects for nuclear power in Czechoslovakia. Marian Calfa informed Alois Mock of his visit to the building site of the Temelin nuclear power station today and stressed that Czechoslovakia is ready to invite to the site an international commission of experts including representatives of Austria to consider the project and safety of the nuclear power station.

He informed the Austrian guests of the measures that have been taken on the border with Austria and that are enforced by radically different price levels in Czechoslovakia and Austria. He asked for understanding and the Austrian minister promised cooperation of the Austrian authorities.

Railway Agreement Signed With Austria

LD0603220190 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT
6 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Transport Frantisek Podlena and Minister of Communications Robert Martinko continued talks today with Austrian Federal Minister of Transport and Nationalized Industry Rudolf Streicher.

The representatives emphasized the interest of both countries in speedy development of Czechoslovak-Austrian cooperation in transport and communications. They stated that the urgency of these tasks has grown these last years.

The subject of the talks was especially the question of modernizing chosen tracks which would increase the attraction of rail transport. Robert Martinko expressed interest in utilizing the experience of Austrian experts in developing Czechoslovak communications.

In conclusion a joint document was signed between the Czechoslovak transport minister and Austrian minister of transport and nationalized industry on the electrification of the Satov-Retz railway border crossing.

Dienstbier Lobbying for Council Membership

LD0603221890 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT
6 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met here today with chairman of the committee of ministers of the Council of Europe, Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro and the Council's secretary general, Mrs Catherine Lalumiere.

They discussed the questions of Czechoslovak-Portuguese relations, paying attention to Czechoslovakia's request to become an associated member of the Council of Europe.

Jiri Dienstbier proposed to form a group of experts, which would, together with the Council's experts, consider the possibilities of Czechoslovakia's joining this European community.

Joao de Deus Pinheiro and Catherine Lalumiere said that the Czechoslovak request would surely be favourably considered in the nearest future.

Prague Candidacy for Europe Bank Endorsed

AU0703141890 Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Mar 90 p 2

[Karel Cech report: "Prague Would Be the Most Suitable Place"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At a news conference in the Cernin Palace yesterday, CSSR Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier informed journalists about the results of his visit to Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium. [passage omitted]

Asked by the PRACE correspondent about the response to the idea that the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, now being prepared, be located in Prague, Jiri Dienstbier replied that although there are several contenders, our chances are good, all the more so as U.S. Secretary of State Baker, acting on his own initiative, endorsed this idea during his recent visit to Prague. The bank's activities would be focused on East and Central Europe and it would therefore be logical for it to be based in this part of the world. Prague is the most suitable place from this viewpoint. Some contenders argue that West Europe has a far more advanced telecommunications and communications network for the bank's operations. However, our capital lies the closest to this part of the European continent and it should not be difficult to connect Prague to this infrastructure. One of the fundamental aims of this bank—to help East European countries overcome their relative backwardness, compared with the other states of the continent—would thus be fulfilled at the very moment of its founding. [passage omitted]

Role of New Secret Service Outlined

LD0703040390 Prague CTK in English 2159 GMT
6 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—In an exclusive interview with the farmers Daily newspaper ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY, Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of the Interior Jaroslav Prochazka detailed the role of the newly-created office for the defence of the Constitution and democracy which was set up on February 16.

The committee would take action to protect constitutional order and national would take action to protect constitutional order and national integrity and resist all

illegal attempts to restrict the activities of the constitutional authorities. It would also work to uncover conspiracies aimed at the violent overthrow of the new democratic system. This would include eliminating the activities of foreign intelligence services on Czechoslovak territory and waging a counter-intelligence offensive against international terrorism.

Concerning the new services structure and concept, the deputy minister explained that it would be organized on the basis of top secrecy. Public representation would be ensured exclusively by its director who has already been appointed and whose name would be made known in the near future.

Intelligence gathering activities were already under way, concentrating on foreign espionage, and an internal information service was already operating.

The new service had already made a good start in dealing with possible activities by former officers of the disbanded state security and was responding to many cases of public concern.

Concerning action against foreign espionage, this related chiefly to those countries which still had totalitarian regimes and those with superpower ambitions. Now that Czechoslovakia was open to the world, it must be prepared for visits from individuals who might prove possible targets for certain undemocratic states and regimes.

A highly specialized team was already engaged in the struggle against international terrorism and would be ready to pass on the results of its intelligence gathering when necessary to various anti-drug and anti-terrorist operations. The resumption of relations with Israel, among others, made it imperative to work closely with foreign intelligence agencies. These included both the British and American secret services and any others that refrained from interfering in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. The new service naturally intended to exchange intelligence with the agencies of the Soviet Union and the other East European countries.

In conclusion, the deputy minister gave an assurance that the activity of the new service would be strictly limited by legislation and would not maintain any of the repressive units of the old state security.

Interior Ministry To Gain Interpol Admission

AU0503090390 Prague PRACE in Czech 26 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Entry Into Interpol"]

[Text] Prague—Lieutenant Colonel Jiri Podlesny, chief of the Public Security Corps [VB] Federal Administration, has returned from New York where, along with other Czechoslovak specialists, he participated in a special [UN] General Assembly session devoted to the struggle against drugs.

In reply to a question on how preparations for our entry into Interpol are progressing, he said that the Federal

Ministry of the Interior has already paid its admission fee and that it is only a matter of a few weeks until cooperation gains momentum. One of the VB Federal Administration sections will become independent and will be the contact organ for Interpol. Of course, it will not cease to work for the needs of our criminal service.

Stepan's Custody Extended; 21 Others Charged

*AU2802150290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
27 Feb 90 p 1*

[CTK report: "Briefing on Investigations"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday the staff of the Prosecutor's Office updated members of the joint commission of the People's Chamber, and the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly and of the Czech National Council on the investigation into the events of 17 November 1989. Investigator Ales Kublak, LLD., confirmed that the custody of Miroslav Stepan has been extended to 22 March 1990. Up to now, he has been interrogated four times. Major General Bohumil Carda, the former chief of administration of the National Security Corps for Prague and the Central Bohemian Region, who is presently on business in the GDR, will be summoned to testify further. His testimony is important in order to confirm the potential share of responsibility of Miroslav Stepan for the intervention of the security riot forces in Wenceslas Square last January. Miroslav Stepan was recently transferred from Ruzyně prison to Pankrac. According to comments by investigator Ales Kublak, who questioned him several times, Stepan still does not feel "guilty." Representatives of the Military Prosecutor's Office stated that charges have been brought against 21 members of the National Security Corps who participated in the intervention on Narodni Trida.

Civic Forum Representative Visits Moscow

*AU0603132490 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE
in Czech 2 March p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Useful Visit"]

[Text] Moscow— "The events that followed 17 November were not so much the consequence of our strength as they were the consequence of the weakness and mistakes of the past leadership," said P. Nauman, Civic Forum representative, at a news conference in the Czechoslovak Embassy building in Moscow on 1 March. The circumstances surrounding 17 November, the Civic Forum's status given the departure of most of its "outstanding" personalities for government and other posts, the attitude of the Civic Forum toward the unification of Germany, and other topics were the main objects of interest for a large group of Soviet journalists. P. Nauman's visit took place on the basis of an invitation by the Czechoslovak Culture and Information Center in the USSR. There were fears in the Civic Forum that a part of

the Soviet press reports events in Czechoslovakia erroneously. The purpose of our visit was to dispel those fears, P. Nauman said. "I am pleasantly surprised, however, by the younger generation in particular, because I expected a much greater political ignorance here. Also the negotiations at the CPSU Central Committee International Department, dealings at the press agency APN and, last but not least, the lecture at the CPSU Political School were very positive. I can assess the entire visit as being very positive," P. Nauman said in a discussion with the CTK correspondent after the news conference. With the exception of people over 60, who are still prisoners of the old thinking, I am surprised by the availability of information here and by the knowledge not only of Czechoslovak problems but also of European problems as a whole, and of other questions, P. Nauman stressed in conclusion.

Civic Forum Spokesmen Preview Electoral Program
*LD0603231890 Prague CTK in English 2038 GMT
6 Mar 90*

[Text] Prague March 6 (CTK)—The Civic Forum enters the pre-election campaign as a government coalition. So far, its list of candidates contains eight political parties, representatives of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre said at a press conference here today.

Jan Urban told journalists that the main idea of the Civic Forum's electoral program is characterized by its motto "to accept responsibility for one's own future". The assembly of Civic Forums, which took place on March 3, worked up the wording of the program that "promises only hard work and points to future difficulties and problems", Milos Zeman said. He used a metaphor of a house who was not repaired by anybody for 40 years and whose best inhabitants were persecuted when they wanted to repair it.

Social Democrats will decide at their meeting on March 23 whether they will stand as independent candidates or on the joint list of candidates of the Civic forum during the June parliamentary elections.

Answering questions of journalists concerning economic reforms, Jan Urban said that the Civic Forum demands quick, hard economic changes already before the elections though it is aware that this could do harm to it during the elections.

Ivan Gabal, member of the electoral commission, told journalists that the Civic Forum cannot afford to unilaterally propagate the left wing or the right wing in the forthcoming elections due to quick changes in society and instability of the political scene.

The Civic Forum enters the electoral campaign with reputation built on what it has already done for progress

and better life in Czechoslovakia since November 19 last year while other parties must build their campaign on a program to the future.

Calfa Inspects Progress at Nuclear Project

*LD0803102290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1430 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa arrived today at the building site of the nuclear power station in Temelin. He was informed about the current course of the building work by Frantisek (?Poukar), director of the power station.

Marian Calfa acquainted himself with the building site, inspecting the buildings to be used for social use. He went through the entire first unit and spoke to the builders. He said that the first two units are to be finished. The others will be decided on the basis of the solution of the Czechoslovak power production conception.

The premier then inspected the water project under construction in (?Snevkovice) through which the nuclear power station will be supplied with water.

At the afternoon activ, Fuel and Energy Minister Jaroslav Suva said that in the future nuclear power stations should substantially help not only power production but ecological problems as well. He also spoke about the measures toward reinforcing the safety of Temelin power station.

Post-1948 Emigration Figures Reported

*AU0703141390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE
in Czech 6 Mar 90 p 1*

[CTK report: "Irreplaceable Losses"]

[Text] Since February 1948, which until recently carried the attribute "victorious," about 500,000 persons have emigrated from our republic. This [emigration] was a reflection of the transformation of social morale into pretense, of the disruption of national feelings by an incompetent leadership of the state, and of the suppression of personal initiative by an economic system that has caused our nations to fall behind. The invasion of Czechoslovakia by the five armies in 1968, too, found its expression in increased emigration. Between 21 August 1968 and the end of the following year, almost 104,000 people left Czechoslovakia. In 1972-1975, an annual average of around 3,000 people emigrated. After the price increases of 1977 and 1978, the annual number of emigrants rose to more than 10,000. This trend continued practically until last November. A total of 244,597 people have emigrated from Czechoslovakia since the 1968 occupation, 103,000 of them women. According to average fertility rates, they could have given birth to approximately 120,000 new Czechoslovak citizens. Another irreplaceable loss is the fact that two-thirds of emigrants were in the most productive age group, i.e., between 20 and 40 years of age.

Destruction of SS-23 Missiles Announced*LD0703150490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1339 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the beginning of February, on Prime Minister Modrow's instructions, the GDR National People's Army began to destroy operational-tactical missile technology (NATO designation SS-23). This group of missiles is not part of the USSR-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and short-range missiles (INF).

GDR Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Uwe Hempel announced this today with reference to yesterday's statement by U.S. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler.

Modrow Letter to Gorbachev on Property Relations*LD0703142690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1221 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The letter from Premier Hans Modrow to Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, dated 2 March 1990, reads as follows:

Most esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev!

Concern for safeguarding a balanced and constructive course of the European process and for the orderly growing together of the two German states embedded in this process causes me to send to you, as the highest representative of the USSR, the enclosed statement from the GDR Government on property relations.

The GDR Government assumes that the ordering of property in the GDR, as it developed after the victory over Hitler's fascism in the then Soviet zone of occupation, cannot be called into question in the creation of a currency union and economic community with the Federal Republic of Germany and also in a future united Germany.

I may therefore make the request that the USSR—with its rights as World War II victor, with reference to a future greater Germany, and using its important international influence—work to guarantee the GDR's property relations.

It has always been the concern of the multifaceted cooperation between our two states and peoples to break up the foundations of Hitler's fascism and, in particular, through the creation of public property and cooperative forms of ownership, to guarantee and extend social achievements for the people in the GDR.

A joint, coordinated concept by the GDR and the USSR on maintaining the existing ownership system in the GDR could be agreed to in detail by the foreign affairs ministries on both sides. This applies in particular to the

conference of the four victors with the two German states, currently under preparation.

I may mention in this connection that my government is receiving an increasing number of anxious questions from many citizens and social organizations, demanding legal security and expressing the hope that 40 years of hard work in creating and improving the GDR's national property will not have been in vain.

On behalf of the people of the GDR, I would be grateful to you for a positive reaction and support for the GDR in this matter that has arisen.

Letter's Content Clarified*LD0703131690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1218 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer decisively rejected on Wednesday a report in the BILD-ZEITUNG that spoke of handing over a "confidential letter" to Mikhail Gorbachev during the talks in Moscow. In the letter, the Soviet head of state was said to have been called upon to set conditions for German unity and to commit himself in particular to continuation of the property relations that have arisen in the GDR. These are "conditions that are a slap in the face to the overwhelming majority of Germans in the GDR," BILD writes. "The USSR should, in accordance with Modrow's wishes, insist that the possession of farms, houses, and land remain inviolable and that the combines remain 'public property.'"

The paper, which bases its report on ZDF [West German TV], maintains also that this letter was not agreed on in the Council of Ministers, and speaks of an "outrageous incident."

It must be made clear in this regard that the "Statement of the GDR Government on Property Relations" was discussed 1 March at the Council of Ministers session. The statement was unanimously decided and was announced and commented on the same day by Dr. Ullmann at the government news conference. At the same time, letters to Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl were discussed at the Council of Ministers session and confirmed. These letters conveyed the government statement to both parties. The letters and statement were handed over in Moscow and Bonn at the end of last week.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on German Unity*LD0703182490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1710 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—We support the Modrow government's concept of a gradual movement in the direction of a German federation that excludes a simple accession, an annexation of the GDR to the FRG. This is stated by

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the Friday edition of the NEUE BERLINER ILLUSTRIERTE [NBI].

In the interview on the theme "What will become of Germany," which has been pre-released to ADN, the USSR politician warns against an annexation under Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. This is an "extremely dangerous path" on a "purely nationalist, not democratic, equal, civilized basis." If the former German lands are re-established on GDR territory, it will immediately disappear as a sovereign state and subject of international law.

"Who can give a guarantee under such conditions that Article 23 will not be applied to 'other areas of Germany' that have long ceased to exist as such and lie outside the territories of the GDR and FRG?" Shevardnadze asked.

Asked whether a united Germany is not likely to become a new source of tension in Europe, he expresses fears existing not only among Soviet citizens, but also in those countries "that were marked by the flames of World War II." However, neither must there be a solution "by the victorious powers or anyone else behind the Germans' back." The four-plus-two mechanism has been created to take into account all interests "to have a Germany in the heart of Europe that threatens no one militarily and that is open to cooperation both eastward and westward."

Remarks by Western politicians about NATO membership for a future united Germany are described by Shevardnadze as "tactless, at the least," if only because "none of them has asked GDR citizens about their views on this." Neither does this prediction correspond with Soviet ideas about its own national interests, about a secure structure for a peaceful, "pan-European home."

The acceleration of history on matters concerning Germany makes it imperative to immediately start with the development of a system of "pan-European areas," legal, humanitarian, and economic, for example. Shevardnadze says that a foreign ministers' committee would help to further intensify European contacts.

All politicians who think reasonably and even ordinary people are concerned about the fate of perestroika, he went on to say. They are unsettled at the fact that instability in the Soviet Union could bring destabilization of the global situation in its wake. "The clever people in the West understand the alternative: If perestroika fails, there will be anarchy in the country, and that means the country's total collapse. Or something else could happen—which is more realistic—a dictator could come to power. A great or an operetta dictator," Shevardnadze says. "I do not rule out that such variations could occur in the countries of East Europe or in a united Germany. We must succeed in coming to an understanding about security in Europe and force this process so that this does not happen."

However, the USSR needs internal stability and a relatively quiet life for this. Nonetheless, mzyay in the

country do not understand this and are enthusiastically stirring up the situation there. The current outbursts of emotion and impatience in relations between the nationalities disturbs him more than economic problems. This is brazen demagoguery, which is extremely dangerous in these times, which are difficult anyway. For this reason, strong democratic institutions are necessary that can protect democracy and perestroika. "We need strong presidential power and political pluralism," Shevardnadze said. However, everything depends on who becomes president. Only Mikhail Gorbachev can realistically lay claim to this post. "I do not see anyone else," the foreign minister said.

Modrow Writes to Kohl on Property Issue

LD0703142990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1223 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Letter sent from Premier Hans Modrow to FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, dated 2 March 1990]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— Most esteemed federal chancellor!

On the basis of our joint national responsibility for the desired realization of German unity in agreement with the Four Powers and our European neighbors, I would advise you of the enclosed statement from the GDR Government on property conditions.

In this connection, I would like to inform you that my government is receiving an increasing number of anxious questions from citizens, social organizations, and parties, demanding legal security with reference to the property relations in the GDR in connection with the negotiations under way on a currency union and economic community.

In addition, it seems to me necessary, not only from the point of view of the German unification process, but also with reference to the further constructive course of pan-European cooperation, not to call into question the ordering of property that has developed in the GDR since World War II.

I may perhaps express the hope that the FRG Government, with respect for all the circumstances and consequences and in its efforts to promote Germany's unification, should also subscribe to this viewpoint and join in making this the basis of further negotiations between the two German states.

CDU Chairman Rejects 'Unconditional Accession'

LD0803110990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0707 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR-CDU [Christian Democratic Union] will not accept the GDR's unconditional accession to the Federal Republic. "We cannot do that to our people," said Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere in an interview with the GDR edition of the TAGESZEITUNG on Thursday.

Accession according to Article 23 of the Basic Law is a possibility because he fears that a discussion on a new GDR constitution would take too long, de Maiziere said. But he is only in favor of it if the framework conditions for the accession are negotiated clearly. If this did not happen, he would not even cooperate in a coalition. "I also believe that the adoption of the Basic Law does not mean the adoption of the entire legal system," the CDU chairman remarked further. The accession would also only make sense if the laender were reconstituted beforehand.

There are controversies over the description of the necessary transitional and harmonization regulations on the path towards German unity with the other parties in the Alliance for Germany. In this regard, Lothar de Maiziere mentioned the questions of property order, social security, and legal standardization. "We need protective measures," he said, "in order to avoid the situation that, in the wake of a too rapid unification, the people living here become disadvantaged by a market that is then much more rough."

Magazine on BND's Interception of GDR Mail

*LD0303173890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1703 GMT 3 Mar 90*

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—According to a report in the news magazine DER SPIEGEL, the FRG Intelligence Service (BND) "intercepted, opened, and examined private letters from the GDR to an extent previously unknown." In the BND offices in the Hamburg suburb of Winterhude alone, more than 10,000 letters daily were received that were selected according to a fixed system. Intelligence information, primarily about FRG citizens who had constant contact with GDR citizens, was gathered and some of it passed to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. The BND employed several hundred BND officials all over the FRG for examining letters, parcels, and telecommunications traffic.

SPD Delegation Meets Officials in Washington

*LD0703214290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1747 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Washington (ADN-Korr)—An intensive exchange of views conducted by a [GDR] Social Democratic Party [SPD] delegation in Washington today focused on the SPD's ideas on Germany and security policy. Party Deputy Chairman Markus Mackel and Dr. Hans Misselwitz, foreign policy adviser to the SPD executive, were sought-after interlocutors in the State Department, the National Security Council, and in Congress.

In meetings with the Deputy U.S. Secretaries of State Raymond Seitz and James Dobbins, as well as Robert Blackwill, director for European and Soviet Affairs in the National Security Council, the two sides' divergent ideas on Germany's future NATO membership and other associated questions were discussed. The United States insists on full membership of the unified state and

its inclusion in the pact, whereby GDR territory should be given special status as a transitional solution.

The GDR-SPD's ideas, based on overcoming the existing military pacts and on guaranteeing security and stability in Europe, are also essentially supported by the SPD in the FRG. The latter's parliamentary group chairman, Horst Ehmke, and Dietrich Stobbe, deputy and former West Berlin mayor, confirmed this today in separate talks at the State Department and the National Security Council.

External aspects of German unification and the security interests of the European neighbors also played a part in talks held by the SPD politicians from East and West Germany with U.S. Senate Armed Service's Committee Chairman Sam Nunn, and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Sen. Nunn is a supporter of further U.S. troop reductions in Europe.

Markus Meckel said this morning in a round of discussions at the Washington Institute of Contemporary German Studies at the Johns Hopkin University that his party supported drastic troop reduction in a unified Germany. It is out of the question that there should be more men with weapons than the Soviet Union and the United States had together in the Central European zone, where an upper limit of 195,000 each has been agreed.

The great interest shown by representatives of the administration, Congress, and U.S. business in the policy of the SPD, as one of the most promising contenders for government posts in the GDR, was also reflected in a symposium of the Brookings Institution and a meeting of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on the 18 March elections, at which Markus Meckel and Horst Ehmke spoke this evening.

Modrow Speech to Parliament on Moscow Visit

*LD0703183690 East Berlin Television Service
in German 0810 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Statement by Premier Hans Modrow to the People's Chamber in Berlin on 7 March—live]

[Text] Mr. President, esteemed deputies, it is my concern to inform you about the working visit of a government delegation to Moscow, from which we returned late yesterday afternoon. In view of the great significance attached to the Moscow talks with regard to the predictable growing together of the two German states and the future cooperation with the Soviet Union, I consider it my duty to immediately inform this esteemed House, and thereby the public, about the most important results of the meeting with the Soviet side. It should be noted in this connection that these meetings accorded with the wishes of all the coalition partners in the government, who also presented their standpoints in the talks.

The Soviet state leadership and Government those problems that are linked with the process of unification of the

two German states. [sentence as heard] We regarded the talks as necessary at this time in view of the fact that the Soviet Union is the GDR's most important trading and alliance partner, with whom we have been linked by close cooperation over decades.

First, however, I would like on this occasion to comment on two equally topical questions that very directly affect the interests of the GDR citizens. To begin with, monetary union with the Federal Government. The GDR Government emphatically rejects speculations that have been started in recent days about the date and financial details. Such speculation is only appropriate to make the GDR citizens feel insecure. Obviously this is precisely the intention of those who are speaking of decisions allegedly already made. Such rumors have been fed not least by the fact that a member of the Central Bank Council of the Bundesbank has made available to a news magazine material from a Council meeting on the subject of a monetary union. It is surely not by coincidence that this material, containing alleged exchange rates and so on, was published immediately prior to the second meeting of the GDR-FRG joint commission, which met in Bonn on Monday and is to prepare the monetary union.

I call all those responsible in the Federal Republic to put an end to all practices that could damage serious preparation for the monetary union. Confidentiality has been agreed for the work of the experts commission, and this should be respected. I would also remind the FRG media of its obligation to be careful.

It is also maintained in the FRG that there was a proposal for currency union to which the GDR Government did not respond. The truth is that before the visit to Bonn, my government learned from the press that there were to be negotiations with us on a monetary union as swiftly as possible. However, there was never a detailed proposal from the Bonn side. Rather, the GDR proposed the appointment of the expert commission, and this was then agreed in Bonn. I must make it quite clear here which side was pushing forward in hectic haste and spreading rumors.

Now it is becoming clear that a monetary union cannot be rushed through, but should be prepared properly. We said this from the very beginning, and I have stated here in the People's Chamber that my government is neither willing nor authorized to enter into a monetary union with the FRG. This can only be decided by the new parliament and by the new government after 18 March. Preliminary work is now being done for this.

We expect that no attempts will be made to disturb this preliminary work nor to cause further uncertainty to the GDR citizens through rumors spread here. I say once again to all citizens: leave your money in the saving accounts, where it will be in the safest hands. The experts in my government, in preparing the monetary union, have the duty from the outset to safeguard the GDR

citizens' social interest. This principle has been a fundamental concern of my government ever since we began our work in November 1989.

A second remark: you know, esteemed deputies, of the weird wave-like movements in the Federal Republic on the question of Poland's western border, that is, on the question of the eastern border of a future greater Germany. On behalf of my government I have on several occasions spoken out quite unequivocally on this, in Bonn, in Warsaw, and in Berlin. The federal chancellor has not done this so far. He has remained evasive and ambiguous.

On 3 March, Mr. Kohl and I received identical telexes from Washington, signed by 32 U.S. senators. They said that all ambiguities concerning the German border with Poland should be cleared up as soon as possible. Both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have signed separate agreements with Poland, recognizing the present border as the final one. With reference to these agreements, the 32 U.S. senators recommend that the two German states and Poland should begin negotiations without delay to combine the two agreements into one.

This new treaty should now be initiated, as one which has been agreed and that will be ratified by the parliament of a united Germany. This process could run in parallel to the two-plus-four negotiations. The telex continues that this course of action would dispel Poland's justified anxieties and facilitate the process towards German unity.

The GDR Government is prepared to negotiate the new joint agreement with Poland proposed by the U.S. senators immediately.

As far as we are concerned, it could be prepared and initialed at short notice, with the aim of removing any existing doubts that the Oder-Neisse line not only is the GDR's eastern border with Poland and Poland's western border with the GDR, which we have always accepted, but that this will also remain the border of the future German federal state with Poland. The federal chancellor should comment on this, and I am quite sure that the response of the Polish premier will be a positive one.

Now some more thorough details of our working visit to Moscow. The government delegation consisted, as already mentioned, of ministers from all the parties and movements represented in the coalition, except for the SPD [Social Democratic Party] because Minister Dr. Romberg was leading the group of GDR experts that was carrying on its work in Bonn at the same time. As recently in Bonn, it was certainly important to declare publicly through such a delegation that our government of national responsibility—to which 13 parties have declared their support—has become an effective working body within a short time. It can also—with all due modesty—be regarded as a sort of model, as a viable solution for the path to a democratic society, characterized by a diversity of parties.

The Moscow talks by the government delegation were not designed to anticipate anything. It was rather a question of acting responsibly in this important area as in others until the elections to the People's Chamber take place. The aim was also to create a solid basis for the future cabinet of the GDR to carry out its work. My government was not and is not aiming to leave behind as many problems as possible for its successor. The legacy taken over in November 1989 was and is difficult enough anyway. It will continue to be a difficult burden to bear in the future. The task of our period in office, originally designed to last until May, had to be to keep damage to a minimum, to prevent the GDR's people from experiencing any existential damage, and to prepare necessary and possible steps towards a new democratic order, especially in economic policy and linked with social safeguards. To this end, the government decided on numerous decrees and prepared numerous laws, which were then passed by the People's Chamber. Those who come after us can judge the value of our work.

In the Moscow talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, Prime Minister Ryzhkov, and other deputies of the Supreme Soviet, we agreed that the current developments in Europe and the German issue that is embedded in them are of great worldwide significance for the future of East and West Germans, for developments on the continent of Europe, and for the world community of people.

I assured my discussion partners that we in the GDR are willing to bring friendship and good-neighborly relations into future relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. No German state has the right to ignore history. The future German state, on the contrary, has the duty and the opportunity to use the experiences of history for the future and to preserve all the trust that has been created in German-Soviet relations and to include it in new developments. This agreement, in my view, is of utmost importance to the continuing progress towards German unification. On my return from Moscow, I should like to stress again today that in everything that develops between the two German states, we are concerned to bring about unification, not annexation or a takeover. This GDR view is shared fully in Moscow—and not only there. This in no way rules out the possibility of purposeful and speedy negotiations on a gradual and well-thought-out reunification.

The politicians of both German states bear the responsibility for considering, at every step of the way, the consequences now and in the future for the citizens of their states and the serious concerns of the European peoples. Anyone who spreads any illusions during the election campaign about inter-German development must be suspected of putting his own political intentions before the direct, essential interests of the people in the East and West. No one should attempt—and here I will use a phrase of Mikhail Gorbachev's in yesterday's talks—to make the people the hostages of his own political ambition.

The process of German unity—and that is the view of all European governments—must not detract from, let alone contradict, the fundamental interests of other countries. It must be bound up with European development in various, different ways, and cannot separate itself from the European unification process. This requires a very responsible attitude and predictable actions by both German states and readiness for cooperation, particularly on the part of their neighbors the four powers.

The Moscow talks have strengthened my belief—and I think also that of the other members of the government delegation—that the central question of unification is to guarantee peace, stability, and security, including the maintenance of the European balance. I should like to sum up the results of the Moscow talks as follows:

First of all, the position of a future united German state in the political and military structures was discussed. The Soviet stance on this issue is well-known. It follows the logic that the maintenance of stability in Europe rules out the integration of the future German state in NATO. A solution to this problem can be found if all the parties involved strive to achieve this with realism and goodwill. It will prove in retrospect to be a mistake to believe that the world's global problems can be solved just by means of a new approach to the East European states.

Secondly, the border question I mentioned before also occupied a special place in our Moscow talks. The Soviet Union also attaches considerable importance to the unambiguous recognition, which would be absolutely binding in international law, of the Oder-Neisse border, by the GDR, the FRG, and the future German state.

Thirdly, the unification of the two German states should promote a European order of peace in the broadest sense. I relate this especially to the rapid continuation of the disarmament process. Obviously, the unification process will result in a special obligation to disarmament. The GDR is already fulfilling this commitment to a large extent. We also recognized great readiness on the Soviet side in this connection. The government of the Federal Republic still has to make its contribution here.

Fourthly, in Moscow, we considered the questions relating to the responsibility of the Four Powers of Germany as a whole. In dealing with this set of problems, it also became clear that inter-German talks should be coordinated as soon as possible with the preparations for the conference of the six—that is the two German states and the Four Powers—and that they should run in parallel as soon as possible. We are dealing here with complicated matters.

With the unification of the two German states and Berlin, the preconditions under which sovereign rights of the Four Powers have been maintained to date, would disappear. The German state would be able to realize its sovereignty in the community of the European peoples in a stable order of world peace, like all the other

European states. The Soviet side is prepared to accept such a settlement and understand its.

Fifthly, in connection with the coming unification of the two German states, we also discussed in Moscow the perspective of economic cooperation. It is well known that this has a special significance and a wide range both for the GDR and the Soviet Union. Incidentally, this also applies to foreign trade between the Federal Republic and the CEMA states. There was agreement on fulfilling the numerous commitments on either side during all the stages of the unification process. At the same time, both sides have to face the new realities linked to the requirements of the market economy.

Out of the traditional cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, a promising potential for future German-Soviet economic relations could develop. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to this. The best experiences of this cooperation will be important elements of the bridging function to East Europe, which GDR enterprises and institutions will bring to the joint German states. In the talks with the Soviet leadership, we also explained the necessity of maintaining the distribution of property ownership in the GDR. We feel that we are committed to this, not least because of the GDR's historical development in the immediate postwar era. We met with approval and support for our position.

This statement and the corresponding accompanying letters to Mikhail Gorbachev and to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl were discussed and unanimously approved by the government. This statement was also explained and commented on in public by Minister Dr. Ulmann at the news conference on 1 March and published on 2 March.

Finally, I should like once again to come back to an earlier comment by Mikhail Gorbachev, that it is up to the Germans to decide on their own affairs. We—and this is the opinion of all the government members who went to Moscow with me—see this as a great vote of confidence in the Germans from the Soviet Union. We feel it is our duty—and I would like to include the future government here—to live up to his confidence. It is becoming increasingly clear that it is now necessary, and that we have the opportunity to replace past conflict in Europe with cooperation.

Working together in Europe includes cooperation between the Germans. We should all bear this in mind. Germany's unification cannot be achieved by conflict, but only by cooperation between the GDR and the FRG. The GDR Government delegation has returned from Moscow with increased certainty. Let me conclude by saying that there can be no other path to the unity of the German Fatherland than the path along which both German states walk together as equal partners, in agreement with their neighbors and the Four Powers, a path that can be easily followed and predicted by all peoples. It is my desire that this certainty should also determine future action.

SPD, CDU Top People's Chamber Election Poll

LD0703212390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1734 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—“If the People's Chamber elections were tomorrow,” 84 percent of GDR citizens would vote. This is the result of the third representative opinion poll by the Central Institute of Youth Research and the Institute of Market Research in Leipzig, with 1,200 participants. Compared with a study in early February, this is a slight increase of five percent. [passage omitted]

The election outcome would be as follows: Christian Democratic Union [CDU]—21 percent, Liberal Democratic Party—four percent, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]—17 percent, National Democratic Party—one percent, Democratic Peasants' Party—three percent, Social Democratic Party [SPD]—34 percent, New Forum—one percent, Democratic Departure—two percent, Green Party—three percent, United Left—one percent, Democracy Now—one percent, German Social Union—seven percent, Free Democratic Party—two percent. The remaining parties would receive less than one percent of the vote. Compared with the study in early February, this represents a clear increase, in the number of votes for the Alliance for Germany, from 17 to 30 percent. The SPD, which had an absolute majority of votes in February, has suffered considerable losses. The PDS has a slight, five-percent increase in votes, [passage omitted]

The investigators believe that this trend in voting shows that further changes are likely in votes by 18 March.

Women's League Political Program Broadcast

LD0703232890

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 7 March broadcasts a 14 and ½ minute party political program for the Democratic Women's League (DFD). The program begins with the unidentified presenter introducing Claudia Woiten, Ella Liebetrau, Renate Schoenfeldt, and Karin Benze, all leading candidates for the DFD.

Liebetrau says she does not want to give up the right to work because she is a single parent and she would lose her economic rights. Woiten says she wants to work and does not want to play the role of housewife and wants to maintain the right to have a say. Benze agrees and wants the GDR's labor laws to be retained and improved for women. Schoenfeldt says she is running for the DFD because she fears for the future of women working in the countryside because it is not clear what will happen about the land reform or with the EEC. Fewer workers and farmers will be represented in the future People's Chamber, she claims, and she is running because she wants to represent their interests.

Woiten says that over the past decades women have forgotten how to defend their rights. Liebetrau says that

the DFD advice centers must be strengthened to help women and that the organization must be open to all women and be interesting to them. It must start to work from the grass roots upward into the highest elected bodies and support and introduce measures in women's interests.

Schoenfeldt says that the DFD should promote the process of consciousness. People are worried about the future and these worries should be brought into the parliament. It is therefore important to form an alliance with all those who have the same ends. They want to form the broadest possible opposition alliance.

Liebetrau says that new thinking is required in the opposition. Women must continue to fight for their rights, she says, especially the right to work. She is in a working group in her factory and is supporting retraining for women so that they are not forced out of the work process.

Benze says that all the political parties have sections on women's rights in their programs. She prefers the DFD to support these independently. She denies that they want to distance themselves from other parties and groups. They are prepared to work with any party that keeps its promises on the rights of women, children, the old, and the disabled.

Schoenfeldt expresses concern about pensions and whether, in the future, pensioners will be able to manage. Women says women cannot rely on political parties as experience in the FRG shows.

Benze then talks about unification saying that originally the DFD was in favor of two states, something she is very much in favor of, because this means that Poland's western border is assured. The question is whether unification will come about. The last DFD national congress decided that whatever happens, the current borders in Europe should remain.

United Left Initiative Political Broadcast

LD0703160890

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 6 March carries a 15-minute election broadcast by the United Left Initiative.

An unidentified female introduces the Initiative representatives as Ms. Mueller, spokeswoman of the Berlin group who works as a carpenter; Lutz (?Biel), a top candidate in Halle and a senior teacher who has been denied employment in recent years and who was expelled from the socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1987; and (?Rheinfried Musch), an economist. The presenter asks (?Musch) what ideas the United Left Initiative have for overcoming the crisis in the GDR. (?Musch) says they want socialism because they want a society that is economically healthy but they want this society not at the Third World's expense, not at the environment's expense, and not with arms burdens that

cannot be borne. (?Musch) says these problems have not been solved in any of the developed capitalist countries with a market economy.

The experiences of recent years in the East bloc countries show that the economy can only be run as a market economy, he notes, continuing that a command economy that wants to stimulate motivation, initiative, and efficiency has never functioned and cannot function. His party believes a market economy must function in three areas. First, independent enterprises that compete in the market to satisfy demands. Second, a state framework plan that ensures and stimulates economical production, which provides sanctions when this is contravened, which establishes a strong social security system, and which directs science toward economical production. Third, it is industrial democracy that above all ensures that the workers and employees have the expert authority and organizational ability at grass-roots level and in industry, administration, and local government and have access to property and take on the responsibility for property. (?Musch) says the difficult question is how does one arrive at the market economy. The United Left believes that monetary union from a set date is not acceptable because it would destroy the economy, would tear the social security net, and would not stop the emigration from East to West.

Lutz (?Biel) adds that monetary union is the problem that concerns everyone because everyone is wondering what will happen to their personal savings. In the event of a rapid currency reform, as proposed by Federal Chancellor Kohl, there would at first be great joy at having the deutsche mark and at being able to consume, but we would buy things in the GDR that were not produced in the GDR and the GDR producers would not be able to sell their goods. He says he will explain what we in the People's Chamber want to introduce here, he says. (?Musch) says there should be a graduated transition and notes they are very aware that the economic reform in all East Bloc countries and in the GDR, too, has become bogged down in paper.

Thus strong economic compulsion must be exercised to start the reform and to advance it. Three packages of measures must be implemented in stages and in a sensible period of time. Namely, the savings accounts must be safeguarded at [an exchange rate of] one to one. There must be a deutsche mark rationing of consumer goods and foodstuffs to prevent buying up and hoarding. Third, raw material prices must be fixed in such a way that industry has the chance by the end of the year to catch up with world standards in three steps. The credits for small firms and craftsmen and for medium-sized firms must be arranged. Materials bottlenecks, equipment shortages, and tool problems must be eliminated, and job-creation measures, further training, and retraining must be included in this timetable. He thinks a year will be needed for this. Lutz (?Biel) says they believe social problems will be greatly intensified, and it will be necessary to defend our interests.

He himself will try to push left-wing policy in the People's Chamber, but in itself parliamentarianism is not able really to implement people's interests directly. So it is not enough just for left-wing people to be elected to the People's Chamber but individual citizens must start at home to see to their own affairs. This means switching to self-organization and trying from below to exert grass-roots pressure upward. What is needed is not a government that governs us but a people that governs itself. We need the leading role of the people. This starts in the factory, where one must form a works council. Every form of citizens' initiative must put pressure on parliamentarianism from below so that something is really done for individual people. The United Left supports groups on the margin of society, but it is above all for those who live from their own labor.

The presenter says every society must be gauged primarily by what it does for the so-called socially marginalized groups and the socially weak and by what security they are given. Every person should be given a certain sum of money, irrespective of whether he is a pensioner, unemployed, or a trainee, she says. Incomes should be more flexible and always adjusted to the inflation rate. Every person has a right to a basic amount of living space.

(?Mueller) says the right to free education also belongs among the rights enumerated by the chairwoman. She notes in her talks with young people that many are frightened that they will be deprived of this right. She sees a danger that young people could become part of the marginalized group, and they share this danger with other parts of the population, as she noticed in her talks with pensioners yesterday. She thinks it is important to cooperate in the parliament with the Alternative Youth List.

The presenter extends an invitation to a large festival on Sunday, with Heiner Mueller and many others who want to do something for the United Left, in Berlin's Congress hall.

Demonstrations Against Social Cuts, High Rents

AU0703124290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 5 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN/ND report: "Between Demands and Promises"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] With a protest march in the Erfurt center, primarily young families, women, children, pensioners, and athletes protested against social cuts on 3 March. [passage omitted]

On Saturday afternoon in Berlin Alexanderplatz, hundreds of citizens demonstrated against exorbitant rents and speculations with apartments and plots of land. On posters and banners they called for appropriate legal regulations before 18 March. [passage omitted]

FRG Environment Minister Professor Dr. Klaus Toepfer was the most prominent guest at an event held

by the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the Merseburg municipal church on Saturday. He reported on his impressions from his visit to the Buna and Leuna chemical works.

After appearances in Wismar and Bad Doberau, FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg addressed a CDU rally in Rostock on Saturday.

NVA Strength Reportedly Down to 90,000 Men

AU0703163490 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
7 Mar 90 p 4

[Ruediger Moniac report: "Fewer Soldiers and New Strategy"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—While the controversy over the future tasks and size of the German armed forces is becoming increasingly intensive behind the scenes of Bonn politics and the Bundeswehr leadership, one can notice a decreasing combat readiness among the land, sea, and air forces of the National People's Army (NVA) of the GDR prior to the 18 March elections. According to information received by DIE WELT, the NVA's strength, which amounted to 175,000 men in mid-1989, has now decreased to 90,000. According to estimates by Western military experts, even this number will be further reduced to 60,000, if more and more young men opt for the alternative national service.

Despite all efforts by the NVA leadership in the course of a military reform to ensure that the Army is only committed to the state, although it used to be committed to the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany, there is reliable information that there is increasing insecurity among the military concerning the principles according to which they ought to do their duties, while the training of soldiers has stopped almost everywhere. The higher ranks have been made completely insecure because "those above" have failed to provide credible guidelines and the state has failed to provide such guidelines for the new understanding that has to be created.

Nevertheless, one can notice trends to more and more adapt the NVA to the Bundeswehr's requirements. It was stated that the GDR's military system ought to become "as compatible as possible" with the Bundeswehr because in this way the military are probably hoping that they will not be discharged in case of German unification. [passage omitted on recent discussion of military questions within FRG parties]

Deputies on Importance of National People's Army

AU0803092690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Mar 90 p 3

[ND/ADN report: "People's Chamber Committees Prepare Plenary Session"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The National People's Army continues to be part of the GDR's sovereignty. In the

Warsaw Pact it is a very real component of the presently existing European security structures. This was affirmed by the People's Chamber Committee for National Defense at its session in Berlin on 5 March.

In a letter to Premier Modrow, the deputies want to urge the cabinet to deal with a concept on social security for retiring professional soldiers.

Deputy Interior Minister Major General Dieter Winderlich briefed the committee members on a draft law on the tasks of the German People's Police. [passage omitted]

Interior Ministry on Passport, Visa Requirements

*AU0803084690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Mar 90 p 2*

[ADN report: "Only With Valid Visas Across the Border"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In view of the numbers of GDR citizens who want to cross the border, in particular to the CSSR, with an identity card and without a visa, and who have to be rejected, the Interior Ministry's Press and Information Department pointed out again on 5 March that a valid passport will be required for trips by GDR citizens to foreign countries when the travel law comes into force.

Until 31 December 1990, the identity card also entitles GDR citizens to cross the border, but there must be a visa in it. At present, GDR citizens can travel with it to Bulgaria, the CSSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, Poland, Hungary, Romania, the USSR, the FRG, Berlin (West), and Austria.

It is recommended to citizens who spend their vacation in other places in the GDR to take their passports with them or to be sure that they have visas in their identity cards, so that they need not forego organized trips and possible individual trips to neighboring countries. Passports and visas for the identity card are only issued in the People's Police office responsible for the applicant's principal or second domicile.

CDU Land Associations Established

*AU0803102090 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT
in German 5 Mar 90 p 1*

[Horst Buder/Friedrich Eismann/Michael Beeskow report: "Three Further Steps on the Road Toward the Unity of the Homeland"]

[Text] Dresden/Potsdam/Rostock—On the weekend [3-4 March], at party congresses in Dresden, Potsdam, and Rostock, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] concluded the introduction of the land structure within the party by establishing the Saxony, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg/Western Pomerania land associations, after having reestablished the CDU land associations in Thuringia, Berlin, and Saxony-Anhalt according to the example of the former territorial structure the week before. Thus, the party speedily implemented the reestablishment of the *laender* in its own ranks, which it had emphatically requested. Herbert Schirmer (Brandenburg), Klaus Reichenbach (Saxony), and Dr. Guenther Krause (Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania) were elected land chairmen.

Further on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks

Parties To Send Observers to Moscow

LD070313590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Government has proposed that the country's 12 big parties appoint three representatives who will take part as observers in the new round of Soviet-Hungarian troop withdrawal discussions in Moscow. In accordance with the agreement concluded the day before yesterday [at the National Summit on 5 March], the representatives of the 12 groupings were briefed by Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, about the discussions conducted so far in the matter of the armed forces' withdrawal. As he said, Hungary would like these forces to leave our country by the end of June next year, whereas the Soviet side wants another two months. Nevertheless, the Hungarian side's position is that the troop withdrawal should take place within the shortest possible time, but in such a way that in the meantime bilateral relations suffer no harm.

Miklos Nemeth, head of government, made an unexpected appearance at the consultation in Parliament House, and he invited the 12 to attend a coordinating consultation at 1530 this afternoon [1430 GMT] to clear up the argument about counting votes in the elections.

Opposition Observers Named

LD0803144590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] In the parliament, agreement has been reached about who are to be the three opposition experts who will travel to Moscow with the government delegation to negotiate the conditions for the troop withdrawals. Erno Kardos reports.

[Kardos] It has been decided which three party representatives will accompany the Hungarian Government as observers to the talks to be held in Moscow on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. After a long debate in the morning, it was decided that Erno Raffay of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Lajos Kosa representing FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], and Gabor Demszky of the Alliance of Free Democrats will travel to the Soviet capital.

A debate evolved about the choice of persons and parties. The smallholders said that their opinion about the Soviet withdrawal is so opposed to that of the government that they do not wish either to vote or to participate in the talks. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party did not have a candidate. The electoral coalition insisted that their representative should travel to Moscow, too, but they withdrew before the vote as it was obvious they did not have a chance. The 12-party meeting was attended by only nine parties.

Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary for foreign affairs, said at the meeting that the government will only sign the agreement with the Soviets if they manage to keep to June of next year for the withdrawal. In the opposite event, there will be no signing of an agreement. That will become the task of the new government.

The opposition said that they wish to participate not only at the talks, but also at the signing of the documents. However, they said they retain the right, upon forming a new government, to begin negotiations again, in the hope of a possible more favorable agreement.

Logistics of Withdrawal Surveyed

LD0703191890 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Excerpt] At the 12-party meeting on Monday [5 March], those not in the government announced that they wished to participate in the talks on Soviet troop withdrawals. [Prime Minister] Miklos Nemeth did not see any obstacle to this, and at today's briefing, after the Hungarian Government had informed the parties of the present situation, they appointed three observers. Peter Szorenyi reports.

[Szorenyi] At today's briefing, it was mentioned that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is to take place by rail; this is why it will take around 16 months. First they will withdraw the offensive-type divisions from our homeland. This means that by next February 90 percent of Soviet soldiers will have left Hungary.

The representatives of the parties present naturally urged earlier troop withdrawals. Their opinion was that perhaps not only railways should be used for transportation.

General Jozsef Biro then said that this kind of solution is at the request of the Soviets. As he said, we must take account of the other side's interests, too, for a withdrawal which has the effect of a defeat will only give support to the conservative forces in the Soviet Union.

However, the presence of foreign troops here makes Hungarians uneasy, declared a well-known party leader. As he said, in a possible rollback in the Soviet Union, these soldiers will obey the authorities.

Speaking about financial questions, State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi said that according to their own calculations, the Soviets will leave installations and other materials here to the value of 45 billion forints. We are not obliged to purchase these; rather, we will have to make contracts regarding them which are advantageous for us. They cannot, by the way, accept the aforementioned 45 billion forints, even as a basis for negotiations. What is certain, however, is that the complete cost of the withdrawal will be met by the Soviets. [passage omitted]

Statistics on Withdrawal Reported*LD0703210790 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] There were two subjects today at the meeting between 12 parties and the government. In the morning they heard a report on the Soviet troop withdrawals.

[Unidentified reporter] [passage omitted] The most interesting information was about the numbers in our country, and the technical force present. In 60 garrisons, in 6,000 installations, there are 49,700 soldiers serving. One-third of them are professionals. Apart from them, 50,000 civil employees and family members are living here today. Among other things, 27,146 combat vehicles, 860 tanks, 600 self-propelled artillery, and 18,000 public road vehicles are in the inventory. Some 560,000 tonnes of material are also awaiting transportation. And, for example, if no agreement were to be reached on the question of fuel, then 100,000 tonnes of fuel alone would have to be transported out. Altogether, this means 2,029 trains. It would be physically impossible to move it out within a year, for only rail is possible. The Yugoslavs and the Romanians will not allow it on the Danube; the cost of aerial shipping is prohibitive and of minimal capacity. As for public roads, they would be ruined. Moreover, one single motorized rifle regiment makes up a convoy 30 km long—no mistake, 30 km. [passage omitted]

Complete Pullout Seen by End of Jun '91*LD0703224990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] [Announcer] Now we turn to Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, who spoke to [reporter] Gyorgy Bernard in The Hague about the troop withdrawals:

[Begin recording] [Bernard] At your press conference in The Hague, you said a change had occurred in the matter of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Last week, transportation difficulties impeded the withdrawal, but now you say that you are optimistic that in the coming days the final agreement on troop withdrawals will be signed. On what do you base your optimism?

[Karpati] Before we traveled here, we reviewed this problem of transportation in a very detailed way with the Soviet military leaders. It is a question of 264 trains—well, one train has around 40-45 cars, so it is quite significant. According to their calculations, they could not fulfill the Hungarian Government proposal to complete withdrawal by the end of June [1991]. The result of this joint review was that we managed to solve it, so we got rid of this obstacle. So, on this basis, I think that I have the right to be optimistic.

[Bernard] So, you can confirm a date by which the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary will take place?

[Karpati] The Hungarian Government's proposal was that this should be completely and definitively concluded by the end of June next year. The Soviet side asked that it be the end of August. So, it was a question of a difference of two months. On the basis of this, according to our proposal it will be completely concluded by the end of June. [end recording]

Karpati Holds Talks, Interviewed in Netherlands**Queried on Expectations***LD0803001190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] [Announcer] In The Hague, our reporter [Gyorgy Bernard] asked Ferenc Karpati what concrete results he expects from his present visit to the Netherlands:

[Begin recording] [Bernard] Mr. Minister, this is the first visit by a Hungarian defense minister to a NATO country. Even if it is such a small one as the Netherlands it is still a NATO country. What agreement can there be between a similarly militarily small country, Hungary, and a small NATO power? And, what is more, just before the Hungarian elections.

[Karpati] Last year, when the Netherlands defense minister was in Hungary, we discovered that our interests, perceptions, and endeavors regarding security were the same in a great many things. This understanding has continued here. First of all, there is no kind of problem between us which causes us to look with hostility at each other. On this basis the Dutch were very open; they gave us thorough and detailed briefings in many matters, and showed great willingness for our two countries to cooperate in any way possible, in the military sphere, too.

[Bernard] Pardon me, but how can two countries which belong to opposing, different military organizations cooperate?

[Karpati] By not threatening each other, not seeing each other as enemies. For this reason, what they showed us, and we were very interested in this...[changes thought]. They very helpfully offered that either our experts should come here, or their experts should come to us, and they would explain in great detail, for example the whole question of the organization of land-based troops, which Hungary is now transforming. And for us, this could be very important. [end recording]

Remarks on Eliminating Close-Range Weapons*LD0803092890 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Mar 90*

[Text] In Hungary weapons that would be suitable for an attack against neighboring countries will be eliminated. This was said by the Hungarian defense minister in Holland, where he held talks with his hosts. Ferenc Karpati once again advocated the strengthening of the Warsaw Pact's political nature, and said that it should not be able to make decisions that are obligatory or

disadvantageous for any member country. The minister emphasized that the allies support the Budapest leadership's endeavors in this direction.

Military Ties To Be Strengthened

LD0803111590 Budapest MTI in English 0955 GMT
8 Mar 90

[Text] The Hague, March 8 (MTI)—Hungarian Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati and his Dutch opposite number, Relus Ter Beek, have agreed to strengthen military relations between the two countries.

Under the agreement Ter Beek announced at an international news conference in The Hague on Wednesday [7 March] evening, Hungary will accredit its Brussels military attaché to The Hague, and the Netherlands its Warsaw military attaché to Budapest.

A Dutch Air Force delegation is due to visit Budapest in late May, and expert consultations will be held, either in Budapest or The Hague, about organizational forms of military training.

Speaking to journalists, the two defence ministers spoke in appreciative terms about the openness and friendly atmosphere which had characterized the talks and the delegation's programme.

Answering a question, Karpati said that Hungary's neighbours had also adopted a new approach to both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

For example, in Romania, he was extensively informed about the difficult position the Romanian Army was in.

Asked by MTI's correspondent whether the Hungarian example of cutting Armed Forces by 35 per cent was likely to be followed by its neighbours, Karpati said that Romania, Czechoslovakia and Poland also planned considerable reductions.

Reflecting on a remark, Karpati pointed out that national security had always been considered a top priority during arms reduction talks.

"We presume that European detente will be a lasting process yielding concrete results, or else the concepts so far would have to be re-examined," Ferenc Karpati said.

The military delegation left The Hague for Budapest on Thursday morning.

Dutch Defense Minister: Visit 'Successful'

LD0803143990 Budapest MTI in English 1235 GMT
8 Mar 90

[Text] The Hague, March 8 (MTI)—In an interview with MTI's correspondent, Dutch Defence Minister Relus Ter Beek described the visit to the Netherlands by the Hungarian military delegation Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati headed as "highly successful and useful".

Ter Beek stressed discussions had been held in an open, friendly atmosphere. Different alliance commitments do not hamper useful cooperation, he added, citing the recent agreement on the mutual accreditation of military attaches.

The Dutch defence minister stressed that the open exchange of information about military forces served to strengthen reciprocal security and confidence.

Asked about the effects the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the imminent Vienna arms reduction accord are likely to produce on the future of the Dutch Armed Forces, Ter Beek said that these forces would also be reduced.

The extent of reduction is currently being negotiated by the NATO countries.

For a start, there will probably be 150-180 fewer tanks, a drop of 10 to 15 per cent.

The Netherlands will firmly speak out for the first Vienna accord on conventional armed forces reduction to be signed this autumn by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, to be followed by further talks along this line.

Ter Beek said that a few weeks ago, he had notified the Dutch parliament of plans to reduce the number of active Dutch forces stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany after the first Vienna accord.

This is, of course, a political issue relating to the German reunification process, in the light of which everybody should reconsider their military policy, he added.

The minister said he would be working out his concepts about a new Dutch defence policy, including reductions and a comprehensive restructuring of the Armed Forces.

A white paper will be put out on the subject, Ter Beek told MTI's correspondent.

Talks Planned With FRG on Visa Requirement

LD0703212290 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Within the next few days Hungarian and West German experts will start negotiations about the details of a comprehensive abolition of the visa requirements between the two countries. This was announced after the talks by Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with his colleague Juergen Sudhoff, state secretary for the Foreign Ministry in Bonn. The West German politician emphasized that his government is ready to conclude an agreement about the abolition of the visa requirement with the existing Hungarian Government even before the elections on 25 March.

Laszlo Kovacs, prior to this talk, participated in the session of the mixed committee whose aim is to develop links between Hungary and Baden-Wuerttemberg.

Parties Hold Election Rallies, Goals Cited*LD0703101790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] The Christian Democratic People's party would like to preserve its role of constructive opposition in the new parliament. Miklos Hasznos, leader of the party's election office, spoke about this at Nagykata. According to the party, one of the fundamental objectives of the path leading out of the economic crisis is that the land must be given back to the peasantry.

Kalman Kulcsar, leader of the national list of the Patriotic Election Coalition, emphasized at an election rally in Jaszbereny that it is every party's duty to ensure that the world's confidence toward Hungary is retained. According to Kalman Kulcsar, the foreign states have up to now watched events in Hungary with confidence. For just this reason, it is a national interest to take care that the sympathetic feeling is preserved.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum does not want to organize a witch-hunt. As Deputy Chairman Sandor Lezsak said at the Nyiregyhaza election rally, they do not want martial law courts, but will put those who have committed criminal acts before the courts. At the meeting Presidium member Istvan Csurka said the Forum has already achieved a victory by managing to attain the declaration of free elections. [passage omitted]

At today's FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] election rally in Csepel, Viktor Orban called on the premier to name the alleged November putschists, and the country from which the alleged putsch started out.

PEC President Envisages Grand Coalition*LD0703155390 Budapest MTI in English 1438 GMT
7 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—There is a realistic chance of a grand coalition government being formed after the March 25 parliamentary elections, Laszlo Asztalos, president of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition (PEC), said at a Wednesday press conference.

Participants at the briefing also said that the PEC would not consider the emergence of a two-party, small coalition government a favourable development: In their view, this would not be capable of leading the country out of its present crisis.

Mr Asztalos went on to say that the PEC had worked out a way of bringing to account former political leaders who can be held responsible for the present crisis.

The most suitable vehicle for this would be the elaboration of a reparation law, which would set down the ways and means of establishing moral and material responsibility, and would be passed by the new parliament.

The Patriotic Electoral Coalition opposes any kind of mob law or pogrom tendencies, and that includes slandering those concerned.

Democratic Forum Briefs Press on Domestic Issues*LD0803053190 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT
7 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) gave a news conference about the self-governments, the land issue and privatization in Budapest on Wednesday.

Lajos Fur, member of the HDF Presidium, said the two basic pillars of political democracy in Hungary would be multi-party parliamentarism and local councils with genuine self-government. For this reason, the HDF considers it highly important for the spring parliamentary polls to be followed by the councils elections.

Special administration should be subordinated to the elected body, and it would be useful to restore the traditional names, such as judge, mayor, magistracy and representative body.

Concerning the land issue, the HDF board disapproves of the continued reorganization of agriculture and that the "agrarian lobby" of parliament thwarted discussions about the law amendment aimed at freezing trade in land.

The HDF supports privatization, but only amid settled circumstances and in public.

Political Parties, Election Procedures Outlined*LD0803054890 Budapest MTI in English 1616 GMT
7 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—According to the latest information, over 1,600 candidates have been entered in the 176 individual constituencies throughout the country.

Over 200 of them are independent candidates.

Four of the parties—the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats—have managed to put up candidates in every constituency.

The largest number of parties (14) will be running in Somogy County (W Hungary), and the lowest (9) in Budapest.

An election list has been put up in each of the 20 regional constituencies by the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Patriotic Electoral Coalition, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Under the election law, 152 out of the total of 386 parliamentary seats may be won—by parties only—through the regional list system.

There are 20 regional constituencies in the country: Budapest, and the 19 counties.

One of the conditions for putting up a regional list was that parties had to be successful in entering a candidate in a minimum of eight constituencies in the capital, four in Pest County, three in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County (NE Hungary), and in at least two individual constituencies in the other 16 counties.

Parties could enter twice as many candidates on the regional list as the number of mandates available in the regional constituency.

A party's candidate may compete for a parliamentary seat both in individual constituencies and on regional lists: if the candidate is elected MP in the individual constituency, his name will be automatically deleted from his party's regional list.

The 12 parties which put up an election list in at least seven regional constituencies were able to draw up a national list.

Fifty-eight mandates are to be won by the parties through the national list, the fate of which will be decided through a calculation system set down by law.

Constituents do not vote for the national list.

Entrepreneurs Hear Szuros on Economic Problems

LD0703232590 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT
7 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic was invited to attend the Wednesday Presidium session of the National Federation of Entrepreneurs.

In his preamble, Mr Szuros said the present situation can be considered transitional not only politically but economically as well, and this has an adverse effect on entrepreneurship. Persons engaged in drawing up economic plans and leaders cannot fulfil their former role, and entrepreneurs are not yet given an adequate share in economy, in conformity with their importance.

Hungarian economy is at present stagnating, Mr Szuros continued, encountering great difficulty in breaking free of its present situation. Hungary is still not "attractive" enough for foreign working capital, and discord in home policy of recent weeks does not attract would-be investors from the West either.

Speaking about political issues, Mr Szuros reminded that continuity and the safekeeping of a peaceful transition is in everybody's interest. The statement made repeatedly in Western Europe that the danger of the emergence of a fascist trend has been increasing in Hungary in the past weeks, is exaggerated, Mr Szuros stressed. It is a fact

however that extreme manifestations have been on the rise, these however seem unavoidable in a strained social and political situation.

In conclusion, Mr Szuros called the attention of entrepreneurs to the fact that a strong bourgeois democracy can only operate with a stable economic background, and entrepreneurs have a principal role to play in creating this.

Democratic Forum Official on Halting Inflation

AU0703210690 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
6 Mar 90 p 7

[Report on interview with Akos Peter Bod, economic policy expert of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Pal Molnar; place and date not given: "About the Economy Before and After the Elections—Halting Inflation"]

[Excerpts] We are putting great emphasis on halting inflation, the program of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] points out. According to the economic experts of the MDF, the current inflation originates, to a large extent, from the economic practice of avoiding conflicts. What would they do if they governed the country? Akos Peter Bod answers these questions.

[Molnar] Is inflation really a problem?

[Bod] Now it is a problem. Generally, one can conduct an academic debate on the subject: What inflation is advantageous for promoting the restructuring process? However, Hungarian inflation has already reached a level where handling it has become questionable.

[Molnar] Who is to be blamed for it?

[Bod] The government "created" the inflation. This was its only means of creating a balance between the amount of money and the quantity of products on the market. The government kept raising prices, and, during this time we did not have to stand in line for supplies, a practice common in Eastern Europe. Thus, the economists did not raise their voice against inflation. However, today, inflation is no longer generated by the government, but by the economy, and worse than that, by society trying to get rid of its money. If people do not trust the value of their money, they will trust neither the economy nor their society. Therefore, the MDF placed anti-inflationary measures at the forefront of its program. [passage omitted]

[Molnar] Other countries are making "great sacrifices"—that is, shock therapy to halt their inflation. Why do we not do the same?

[Bod] Hungary is not in a situation to use shock therapy as the only solution. Instead, the MDF program starts from the premise that we should deal with the causes of inflation, and deal harshly. One of these causes is lack of competition. A monopolist can raise his prices. Anyone who creates competition has in his grasp the strongest anti-inflationary weapon. [passage omitted]

[Molnar] Can one expect a decrease in inflation without economic growth?

[Bod] If the supply of goods does not increase, the inflationary pressure will continue. We must achieve an export surplus in the Hungarian economy, and if there is no economic growth in the meantime, this will lead to a withdrawal of resources. In other words, there will be fewer goods in the country. Therefore, there is also a need for rational and

selective acceleration. In the intermediate term, when the supply of goods begins to genuinely increase, this will halt inflation. [passage omitted]

[Molnar] When would the MDF steps halt inflation?

[Bod] One can only predict this, but there is also an "if" here, namely if this year does not slip out of control. One can expect that the new government, which will function under the control of the opposition and of the free press, will be more predictable. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Interview on Polish, German Relations

AU0703145390 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
7 Mar 90 p 9

[Interview with State President Wojciech Jaruzelski by Ulrich Schmidla; place and date not given]

[Text] [Schmidla] Mr. President, your wife is a university lecturer for German. Did this affect you? Do you speak German?

[Jaruzelski] No, unfortunately I do not. In my life, I have had neither the time, nor the opportunity to learn this language. However, I hold the language in high esteem, particularly what has been created with this language. It constitutes a great contribution to European culture and civilization.

[Schmidla] The FRG and Poland are striving to achieve a new quality in their relations. How do you think this new quality should be realized?

[Jaruzelski] First, I would like to stress that this new quality must be shaped under specific historical conditions. To put it more precisely, this must take place at a fork, at a fork in political events. Big chances open up during such historic phases. However, such phases also contain certain dangers. It is important to make a maximum use of the opportunities and to reduce the dangers as far as possible. To quote Hippocrates, one could say that the most important thing is not to cause any damage in connection with the development of our relations.

Second, I believe that there can be no modern Europe in the sense we understand this expression today without an actual reconciliation between our peoples, that is, without concluding the old chapter of our relations and opening a new chapter. We are the two largest peoples in the center of this continent—80 million Germans and 40 million Poles—and if we include the Germans and Poles who live outside their home countries, and who have a certain relationship with the fate of their home countries, this says a great deal about the significance of relations between our states. This new quality should, above all, be characterized by mutual understanding, mutual trust, and specific cooperation in all spheres.

[Schmidla] The German side, and certainly also the Polish side, are greatly interested in freeing their relations from the emotions and burdens of the past, as happened in relations with France. Do you consider a similar development in German-Polish relations possible?

[Jaruzelski] One must see this goal and strive for it. However, it cannot be achieved mechanically. The model of French-German relations is often mentioned, but I think those who see parallels ignore the differences. There is more sensitivity in Poland than in France.

The Polish state was created out of a conflict, a conflict with the Prussian aggressor. There were many difficult

moments in the course of history—also for the French, of course. However, the basic difference is that the French and the Germans usually possessed a similar, balanced potential. Sometimes the one side won, and sometimes the other. In general, Poland has always been weaker. This results from the division of Poland at the end of the 18th century. The three countries that divided Poland among themselves included Prussia. The occupation issue has a completely different value in France. France even became an occupying power itself. Poland did not have this advantage. Both France and the FRG belong to NATO and the EC. There are many things that these countries have in common.

There is another important factor: There is no border dispute between France and the FRG. What we want is that the German side takes into consideration this situation, that it shows understanding for the sensitivity of the Poles because of the past. Only if one is aware of these conditions can one shape the future positively.

Let me add two more things. Taking into consideration proportions, Poland made greater sacrifices during World War II than any other country. Poland also participated in the liberation of the German people. It is no coincidence that I use the word liberation here, because I believe that the German people were also suppressed, as it were, by the Nazis and by Hitler, and that they were victims of the Nazi regimes, even if they were tools at the same time. Poland's participation in their liberation from the Nazi regime also opened up chances for the development of democracy in Germany.

The second thing is the role of the churches. They can achieve a great deal through their moral authority. They can bring our peoples together.

[Schmidla] How do you see the role of the federal chancellor as far as the shaping of German-Polish relations is concerned? In November of last year Helmut Kohl was here. Did his visit meet the expectations of the Poles?

[Jaruzelski] The visit of the federal chancellor was important. We settled many problems and concluded many agreements, including agreements on economic and cultural cooperation. So it was a good step. Nevertheless, this is of course only one step, and I hope that further steps will follow. I am pinning my hopes very much on the visit of FRG President Weizsaecker, who will visit Poland in May. We particularly appreciate the authority he enjoys in Germany, and his friendly attitude toward Poland. I think that the visit of the FRG chancellor might have played a more important role if one had not put a spoonful of vinegar into the barrel of wine.

[Schmidla] This spoonful of vinegar is the declaration on the German-Polish border that was not made, is it not?

[Jaruzelski] Yes, this is the question that remains to be answered, which has somehow been avoided, and where there are still ambiguities. I can understand that one has

to follow certain rules of the game in the election campaign. There are various conditions of domestic policy that have an impact on the chancellor. However, at the same time I know that there are many other politicians who take a clear stand on this question. I am thinking of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], the Greens, and even Vice Chancellor Genscher, particularly in connection with his most recent statements, which we received with great attention. We would be glad if the chancellor were also to arrive at this point. After all, this is practically a test case for reconciliation. If we protract this discussion even more, it will create an atmosphere that might overshadow everything and make those things complicated that could actually be positive for our relations.

[Schmidla] The two German states are striving for unity while fully respecting the security interests of its European neighbors. The Polish side has voiced some of the strongest reservations. What are the Poles afraid of?

[Jaruzelski] What was surprising, or even shocking, is the pace of these processes aimed at the unification of Germany. They are much faster than the European process, and certain facts accomplished have already been created, including the emergence of nationalist tendencies. All this has created the impression in Poland that this is not intended to be a process of unification but an annexation. This process is developing under conditions that are worrying from our point of view, particularly regarding the question marks behind the border. To me the situation in the FRG is like that of an orchestra, in which individual politicians deliberately follow their own melodies. Or is it intended to be a cacophony, a bad orchestra? Yet German perfectionism speaks against this. I do not believe that they are "anarchists" as far as music is concerned. The people of Bach and Beethoven understand this profession. What is much more frightening is that these voices differ according to the occasion and according to whom they are addressed. One must not disrupt the balance of power in Europe, the security balance. Moreover, this process is intended to develop parallel to European integration. This would be a great German contribution to the unity of Europe. Besides, it would spare us the situation in which we must have certain fears when we read between the lines of statements on German unity. In addition, many Poles have the problem of compensation for damage that they suffered through the Third Reich.

[Schmidla] Are you personally afraid of a united Germany?

[Jaruzelski] Yes and no.

[Schmidla] Could you explain that?

[Jaruzelski] As a Pole and European, I have certain fears because of past experience. The position of a major power and a dominating situation makes people take advantage of such a position at the expense of others. That is one side. On the other hand, I am not afraid because I believe that the Germans themselves, the

superpowers, and all European peoples, particularly the Poles, will do everything to ensure that the united Germany becomes a constructive element in Europe and an important element in the common European home.

However, unfortunately Chancellor Kohl's recent statements have given more weight to the answer yes. This means that we do have fears.

[Schmidla] You will certainly conduct talks on German-Polish relations in the coming days and weeks. What countries will you visit? Do you have the feeling that Premier Mazowiecki needs your help?

[Jaruzelski] I support the head of the government wherever I can, including in his proposal that Poland ought to have a say in the negotiations on German unity at the conference based on the "two-plus-four" formula, at the adequate time and in the adequate form. What is particularly important is the part of the talks that deal with the border question. We will not give in on this question. Even this month, I will have an opportunity to conduct talks abroad that are intended to have the superpowers confirm the guarantees for our security.

Moreover, we will continue to pursue an active peace policy in various forums. The recent Vienna meeting of the chiefs of staff from East and West discussed defense doctrines, arms reduction, and the increase of confidence, particularly in central Europe. I would like to note with satisfaction that certain elements of the plan, which was termed the Jaruzelski Plan three years ago, have shown an impact on the talks. However, what I would really like to point out is that it would be good if our two countries were to launch particularly courageous initiatives for a radical reduction of the arms potentials in Europe.

[Schmidla] Are talks with German politicians also on your agenda in the near future?

[Jaruzelski] No, unless they come to Poland.

[Schmidla] In the FRG one is bound to get the impression that, for fear of the Germans, the Polish Government has now rejected Moscow's offer to negotiate the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Yet the majority of the population is in favor of such a withdrawal. Is there a danger that emotions might gain the upper hand? Or, to quote Bismarck, are the Poles making political poetry and poetic politics?

[Schmidla] For decades the West criticized our lack of transparency, openness, real democracy, uniformity, and conformity. Now they are surprised that things have changed and that, as far as certain problems are concerned, people support differing views in public. We consider the presence of the Soviet troops in Poland a question that must be seen in the context of the changes in Europe. Everything now strongly depends on whether a united Germany remains a member of NATO or whether it becomes neutral, on what becomes of the Soviet troops stationed on GDR territory, and more

generally, what armies will be stationed in what areas. Will we achieve European security at an ever lower level? Until the general questions are answered, one must not act precipitously. Therefore, one cannot withdraw the Soviet soldiers from Poland at this stage.

[Schmidla] However, the CSSR already has concluded agreements on the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

[Jaruzelski] Well, there are essential differences. The first one is that the Soviet Army was deployed in the CSSR and Poland at different times and under different conditions. In Poland it remained immediately after the war as an element of the balance of power between East and West. In 1968 the Soviet Army came to the CSSR with a very clear goal. Second, the Soviet troops in Poland are the logistic backbone for the Soviet Army in the GDR, whereas they do not have this function in the CSSR. Third, the CSSR border is undisputed.

[Schmidla] The economic policy plays a major role in Poland. Led by Solidarity, the government has completely abandoned socialism. What do you think of this program, which, according to most recent estimates, will produce more than 1 million unemployed workers this year? Is the population prepared for it?

[Jaruzelski] Unemployment is not viewed as something positive in the West either. The individual political forces assess it differently. However, they all try to reduce unemployment. One must not play down economic laws. We did that for decades. Economic pressure forces us now to achieve greater productivity and efficiency. However, one must not disregard the political-psychological situation. It is true that unemployment is an economic phenomenon, but there is also a moral and political aspect to it. We believe that unemployment is admissible to a certain extent—which should be kept as small as possible. It is no great danger for Poland, particularly in the long run, because there is a considerable shortage of labor, particularly in the service sector. The problem that we are facing is the lack of mobility of workers because of the housing shortage. However, we do not abandon the concept of social justice. It is enshrined in the Constitution. Noncommunist Prime Minister Mazowiecki speaks of a social market economy. We also think about how the legitimate social achievements that have existed in Poland so far can be ensured. Of course, they must be adapted to the new principles and conditions. The development of a poor and a rich class must not be allowed in Poland. I think that a united Germany will have the same problem with the GDR.

[Schmidla] Do you think that after the unification of the two German states there will still be great economic interest to continue to support Poland? What do you think about the aid that has been provided by the Germans and the promises that have been made? What should be the basis of economic cooperation with the FRG?

[Jaruzelski] The chancellor's visit was an important step in this direction. However, too little time has passed to

be able to assess the implementation of the measures that were agreed. A special increase in the development of economic cooperation is not noticeable. It does not yet correspond to the potential of the FRG. I believe that this situation is to a certain extent due to the situation that has developed in Germany, to the concentration of attention, or—let us put it this way—the economic expansion of the FRG to the GDR. Personally, I believe that the FRG and later the united Germany should ensure that the two parts of Europe do not remain on different technological and economic levels. Cooperation is possible if the difference between the two levels is not too great. There are spheres where joint forces are required, in environmental protection, for example. A total of 70 percent of the winds come from the West, which means from industrialized Germany. They do not carry pleasant fragrances or the smell of flowers. Quite the contrary.

[Schmidla] Pollution comes mainly from the GDR. One must not forget that.

[Jaruzelski] I speak of the united Germany.

[Schmidla] Things will certainly change in a united Germany.

[Jaruzelski] The winds even originate in the Netherlands and Belgium. The FRG has done a great deal in the ecological sphere. However, I know that certain problems also exist in your country. As I already pointed out, there are certain areas where cooperation is possible and where it should take place: This applies particularly to the field of energy, raw materials, and transportation. Such cooperation is advantageous for both sides because I do not think that the economy is dominated by emotions, particularly not among such pragmatic people as the Germans.

[Schmidla] Let us talk about some pragmatic aspects. The office of state president is equipped with far-reaching powers. However, you do not use them. Does this mean that you completely agree with Mazowiecki?

[Jaruzelski] We have learned from the history of all countries that it is better not to use all powers instead of abusing them. I use them within the framework that I consider appropriate. However, no quarrel has erupted so far between myself and the government. We have a common denominator, Poland's well-being, and cooperation is very good on this basis. You know that we approached each other from two different directions, from two different sides of the political barricades. Various prejudices and reservations existed. However, I must admit that I have great respect for Prime Minister Mazowiecki, who is ready for cooperation despite the differences. He is a very wise and sincere man.

[Schmidla] You were a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] until the end of January. This group has been dissolved. Later you were quoted as saying that you would not join the new party, the Social Democratic Party, because you are the president of all

Poles. Was this not the case when you were still a member of the PZPR, or is it because you do not see a future for the left?

[Jaruzelski] Your question already contained the answer. I did not use my powers on behalf of the PZPR. I tried to overcome the differences, I did not want to speak on behalf of a particular party. The situation of the left in Poland is not quite clear at the moment, as far as its organization is concerned. It is undergoing a process of development. There is no need for me to be committed to this party. I think this will remain so in the future. However, this does not indicate a lack of loyalty for a certain idea. I continue to be committed to the left, and I advocate its ideals, values, and every aspect of humanism and progress that is contained in these ideas. There is no modern country in Europe where the left does not represent a leading political force.

[Schmidla] Circles among Solidarity have suggested moving up parliamentary elections scheduled for 1993, and there have also been speculations about moving up presidential elections that are scheduled to take place two years later. What is your opinion?

[Jaruzelski] In discussing such an important issue as the elections, the actual needs not the date should be the decisive factor. Being a soldier, I have a firm principle: Two fronts should not be opened at the same time. The most important front is the economic front at the moment, and all forces should purposefully work for this aim. An election campaign is a form of political competition that would entail a certain amount of instability. It would only impede the main task.

Also, the parties must have a clear profile before the elections. We still do not have a classic multiparty system. There is a considerable sociopolitical movement, which is basically a conglomerate of Solidarity, and a concentration of various directions. We have a number of political groupings and parties that have formed recently. Elections are only a plebiscite and not real elections unless a genuine multiparty system is established, and unless the parties develop programs that can be presented to the population. Thus, elections at this point would not enrich democracy and pluralism.

[Schmidla] Does this mean that the set dates must be observed?

[Jaruzelski] The situation and future developments will decide. Elections may be moved up, but only if this solves the most important problems. There is no need for early elections at this point.

[Schmidla] Does this apply to both the parliamentary and presidential elections?

[Jaruzelski] I only state that the same logic should apply to both elections.

[Schmidla] The years 1980 and 1981 were rough times for Poland. Will it be possible one day to read about your views and feelings as a politician and general during this period in your memoirs?

[Jaruzelski] I have not gone to confession for quite some time. But I know what you mean. A time will, of course, come when individual chapters of our history will be examined more closely from a distance. Conditions will be created that will allow close investigation of the situation that existed at the time. I mentioned 13 December 1981 during my most recent stay in Geneva. This may sound paradoxical, but I was the first president that addressed the UN Human Rights Commission. If one takes into consideration the standing that I had there years ago, this was quite a special event. I was well received, and I was even cordially seen off. However, let me go back to your question. The martial law was the lesser evil. As early as 200 years ago, our national hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko stated that sometimes one must make considerable sacrifices to gain something. Historic developments have shown that he was right.

Spokesperson on German Unity, Polish Sovereignty

AU0703223190 Vienna Television Service in German
2100 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Interview with government spokesperson Malzorgata Niezabitowska by ORF correspondent Joana Radzyner; place and date not given—recorded, in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Niezabitowska] We would like to join a Europe with a unified Germany, a Europe that is striving for unity as a whole, and we would like to join Europe, reconciled with the Germans. However, such reconciliation requires certain conditions. There must be no ambiguities regarding our borders. The issue of reparations for Polish forced laborers in Hitlerite Germany must not be used as a (?bargaining chip). It is a moral affair. Exploiting this problem politically does not seem to me to be appropriate and only creates negative feelings, feelings that we want to avoid.

We do not at all understand why Chancellor Kohl does not want Poland to take part in the upcoming Four-Power conference with the two German states, even though it will not take part as an equal negotiating partner, as we have always made clear, and even though it will only take part in those conference discussions that also concern Poland.

Enough misfortune has been created in Europe because a few people spoke for others. In Yalta, the big powers made decisions over the heads of the nations, against the will of the nations, and against the will of sovereign elected governments such as Poland.

So it is really time for us to decide on our own affairs ourselves and to be present where we are existentially

concerned. That is certainly not dangerous for anyone, nor is it an excessive demand.

[Radzyner] However, following the recent crisis of confidence, hardly anybody in Poland has called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

[Niezabitowska] The essence of the problem is—and we must be realistic here—the fact that without the final global settlement of European security and disarmament issues, it would not be realistic to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. We are a transit country between the Soviet Union and the GDR.

On the other hand, no country likes foreign troops to be deployed on its territory. That holds equally true for the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, and the Hungarians. However, it also holds true for the Federal Republic, where French and U.S. troops are deployed. There have been protests in the FRG as well. As long as the Soviet troops were occupation forces—as they were for 44 years—the situation was different. Now the Soviet Army is no longer an occupation army. I say so in full responsibility. We are a sovereign state, and the Soviet Union does not exert any pressure on us. The presence of Soviet troops on Polish territory is simply an element of the existing strategic ratio of forces in Europe.

KPN Leader Moczulski on German Unification

LD0803052790 Warsaw PAP in English
2106 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Cracow, March 7—Leader of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski held a press conference here today. He stated in part:

The European significance and consequences of German unification considerably exceed the undeniable and justified right of the German nation to that.

The issue should be settled together by all European states and the conference on it should definitely solve all problems that emerged in the result of World War II. The conference should eliminate the division of Europe and dissolution of military blocs, withdrawal of foreign troops from all countries, granting sovereign rights to all nations and elimination of the military, economic and political hegemony of the USSR in the east of the continent are needed for that, Moczulski stated.

Kiszczak Rejects Dissolution of Security Service

LD0703224190 Warsaw PAP in English
2058 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—The Sejm committees for legislative work and administration and for internal affairs met at a joint meeting here today to consider draft laws on reform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Minister of Internal Affairs General Czeslaw Kiszczak attending the meeting expressed opinion that a rapid

dissolution of the security service, SB, may bring about negative effects in the current political situation.

Sejm Session Opens With Reading of Papal Letter

LD0803092290 Warsaw PAP in English
0850 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Opening a Sejm (lower house) sitting here today, its speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz read a letter from Pope John Paul II who thanked deputies and senators for Christmas greetings.

In the letter addressed to Primate Jozef Glemp and conveyed by him to the parliament the pope wrote about responsibility and historic tasks facing both chambers of the Polish parliament.

Protests Staged in Nowa Hota Over Militia Units

LD0803095490 Warsaw PAP in English
2311 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Krakow, March 7—Street violence in Nowa Huta, a district of Krakow, staged by young people from anarchist groups, was stopped in the evening today after the militia firmly stepped in, using water cannons and apprehending several people.

The demonstrators were protesting against the presence of OPMO [systems militia prevention units] militia prevention units barracks in the district. They showered the buildings with petrol bombs and rocks, breaking windows and damaging walls.

New Director of Wroclaw Radio, TV Appointed

LD2302093690 Wroclaw Domestic Service
in Polish 0600 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] On 21 February, we welcomed a new boss in the Wroclaw Radio and Television center. Barbara Trzeciak-Pietkiewicz was appointed to the post of director and editor in chief of the center. She is a journalist who returned to work after an eight-year absence from the center. A meeting with the staff was attended by Andrzej Bober, director general of the radio and television committee.

Discovery of 1944 'Stalinist Crime' Site

LD0403153690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] In (Jaskowice), in the region of Tarnobrzeg, the site of a mass Stalinist crime carried out in 1944 has been discovered. According to local inhabitants, following the occupation of these areas by the Red Army, military personnel and civilians were brought in from various places, who were first interrogated in temporary field prisons and then taken to the nearby forest to be shot. Only a small number of them were sent to Siberia, whence only a few returned years later to their homes.

The mass graves discovered at the execution site probably conceal the remains of AK [Home Army] soldiers, and also Russians and Germans. The number of victims is estimated to be between 200 and 1,000.

AIDS Claims 18 Polish Victims

*AU0503161790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 1 Mar 90 p 3*

[Iwona Czechowska report: "Fear and Intolerance"]

[Text] The rural people's council and civic committee of Gloskow have ordered the residents of the "Monar" residential home, which has been in existence since 1978, to move out of it within 10 days. The reason? Fears that some of the residents might be infected with the HIV virus. A failure to comply with this order could lead to the home being burned down.

A meeting of the Sejm Health Commission, which was attended by more outsiders than Sejm deputies, discussed the attitudes of society at great length. It was supposed to be devoted to epidemics, but it only discussed AIDS. The meeting criticized the measures taken so far to combat the disease. There was practically unanimous agreement that the medical profession and the public at large have an incorrect attitude toward AIDS.

On behalf of the Medical Chamber, Professor T. Chrusciel declared the need to create a program aimed at combating nontolerance toward AIDS victims. This need has already been communicated to the premier and Polish Episcopate. The health minister announced a reorganization of the AIDS Council (its term of office expires this year), the appointment of an AIDS plenipotentiary, and the creation of a new program of AIDS prevention with the broad participation of specialists and social organizations.

Some 721 cases of HIV infection in Poland have been noted up to 15 February. Some 32 people have developed AIDS, 18 of whom have died so far.

France Offers Free Transmission of TV Program

*LD0803054190 Warsaw PAP in English
1618 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—French representatives of the Ministry of Communications here yesterday offered to their Polish counterparts a free retransmission, via satellite, of a four-hour daily programme of the French TV5 channel.

The French side is ready to supply and install necessary equipment in Poland at their own cost. Thus it is possible that Poles will be able to receive television programmes beamed from Paris as early as in July of this year.

Internal Affairs Undersecretary Named

*LD0803094390 Warsaw PAP in English
2111 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on the motion of the minister of internal affairs, appointed senator and hitherto deputy editor-in-chief of the Krakow based "TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY" weekly Krzysztof Kozlowski under-secretary of state at the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Prices Expected To Rise by 6 Percent in Mar

*LD0803101490 Warsaw PAP in English
2014 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Spokesman for the Ministry of Finance said that according to forecasts the average increase of retail prices of goods and services will increase by 6 per cent in March against the average level from February.

The forecasted price index takes into account the influence of February price changes on the March level and changes of prices in March alone. It is estimated that the new price increase in March alone will not exceed 4 per cent.

Former Securitate Officials' Acquiescence Judged

AU0203104990 Bucharest ADEVARUL
in Romanian 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Magdalena Boiangiu article: "The Evil's Employees"]

[Text] No public voice disputes the need to dissolve the former repressive apparatus. However, those who should start acting and publicizing these facts suggest that the Securitate's structure itself—an independent organization, with an activity under the sign of secrecy and with very broad branches—determine delays and hesitations. We are told that only the guilty ones should be punished. That is true. However, the problem of crime and punishment is the responsibility of the judicial powers and it is normal that they should speak out in time and with full knowledge of the case. The problem of political power is a different one, that is the democratization of the system and setting it on different bases. We have been provided with lists that include the names of the convicted commanders, whose cases are under investigation. We are talking about the general staff of crime, whose guilt should be examined in the context of the activity that has been carried out by the institution throughout the years. Otherwise we will find out again that they were merely some poor people who passed some orders and had no idea of how these orders were being executed.

We are also told that the duties of surveillance and investigation bodies no longer include the punishment of citizens for their political opinion. However, there is no visible guarantee that in this war of the Securitate against its own people, there was nothing more than an agreed cease-fire, which does not provide for laying down arms. There are hundreds of thousands of items of proof—names and dates—about the way in which these "bodies" systematically and in a brutal and sadistic way violated not only today's laws but also the laws of that time, which the dictatorship was adopting and publicizing in a hypocritical way. We are told that these people have wives and children. Those people whom they were investigating were not bachelors either. We are not talking here about the vengeance of today's victors against those who were in power yesterday, but about condemning, in accordance with the law, those who assumed the right to humiliate, a right that has not been included in any law, and the right to kill without any legal basis.

We are also told in the discussion held at the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] that there is still another problem, that of clerks: those people who were employed in the Securitate, as one can be employed in any other institution, and went about their duties or even tried to limit the amount of evil. This type of "political" trial excludes all moral criteria. Let us then refer to the clerks: Any enterprise or institute had its own Securitate officer who did not hide his association with the "body;" he visited the chiefs periodically, just to find out this and that, scolded a few loud-mouthed ones, sometimes refused to issue a passport, and sometimes recruited an informer. Certainly,

they did not give orders and did not commit crimes. At least not visible ones. However, they made a decisive contribution to instituting a state of terror and suspicion. We are told that they were simple clerks. Yes, but they were the evil's employees. A famous sociologist also tells us that if their stability is being threatened they can turn into a counterrevolutionary force. If we leave them in peace, will they become a revolutionary force? Nobody asks for their punishment if they are not guilty in the eye of the law, but nobody should be paid for surveilling people's thoughts.

We have learned that there is no civilized country without a defense body against foreign and domestic enemies. This is true. Even more so, in countries with old democratic traditions, which inherently shelter this type of activity, these bodies tend to acquire a certain autonomy, to become partially free of the control of the legally elected power. Precisely for this reason, if now it is difficult to set up the list of all the guilty people, and if this requires time, then I think that it would be topical to set up a mechanism through which the system of state security cannot be claimed by a person, a group of people, or even by a party representing the majority. This system should be controlled by the state and by public opinion, constantly and not "according to circumstances." We believe that in this way the new employees of this apparatus will indeed be professionals whose activity will be carried out beyond any moral doubt.

Maintaining the current clerks of the evil, of the system that generated them—and which renounced the indoctrination practice a long time ago, relying on the practice of compensation and on the appetite for domination—will make possible the use of illegal repression by anybody who is temporarily in power, against everybody, even against those who today are its protectors.

Ex-Minister on Conspiracies Against Ceausescu

PM0503120290 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
1 Mar 90 p 10

[Interview with former Tourism Minister Michail Lupoi by Gabriel Bertinetto; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Bucharest—[Introductory passage omitted] We asked Major Michail Lupoi, 37, who was the first officer to appear before the nation on television on 22 December to announce that the Army was on the people's side, what he thinks of the possibility that the people's uprising was preceded by a conspiracy between the political leaders ousted by Ceausescu (Iliescu, Roman, and others), the Army, and even part of the Securitate. Lupoi—who resigned from the Army and from his post as tourism minister on 7 February—"because the government was being conducted by decree, without consulting all of us, and because the people's consensus was not being sought"—was cautious, saying that such topics are liable to prompt conflicts among the public; but eventually he revealed

everything he knows and believes. "I do not have concrete proof," he said, "but a number of factors prompt me to believe that plans did exist, even if not in the form you indicate."

[Bertinetto] What kind of plans, then?

[Lupoi] Listen. I was working for the Army staff. On 17 December, the day of the Timisoara events, we were on the alert. When Ceausescu's escape was announced 22 December, I rushed to the television station on behalf of the young officers to reassure the nation and our troops throughout the country: This was no fabrication; it was all true, and the Army was with the people. When I reached the television station nobody asked me who I was or what I wanted. They immediately led me to a studio and a microphone. I had the clear impression that they had mistaken me for someone else, and indeed General Militaru arrived after 10 minutes.

[Bertinetto] Is that all?

[Lupoi] No, that is not all. Iliescu, Roman, and others who hold power knew one another well. They belonged to the so-called "Club 2000" and had published together a book called "Problems of Tomorrow's World." Furthermore, I find it curious that as soon as Militaru was made defense minister he appointed people he could trust to key posts. He evidently had a list ready.

[Bertinetto] If there was a plan, who carried it out? What role could the Army or Securitate have played in it?

[Lupoi] The Army was not consulted by Iliescu. Militaru was a reserve general. I believe that Iliescu formed a pact with the Securitate only at a secondary stage. Before the spontaneous explosion of the revolution plans to seize power were being made in various different unconnected circles. On the one hand I believe Iliescu and his supporters were conspiring. On the other hand there was Nuze, chief of police. I do not know whether Nuze's plan also involved the Securitate, since the latter was organized into watertight compartments, some of which were directly under Ceausescu, without intermediate levels. Nuze's plan—about which we have only partial information, since the information is a state secret—was the response of certain sectors of the repressive apparatus to the clear crisis of the regime. The Securitate people are not stupid. They are politically and intellectually well informed, and I believe that they had analyzed the situation and realized that Ceausescu was leading everyone to disaster.

[Bertinetto] So there were two different, unconnected, plans in a single effort against the Ceausescu regime. In fact Nuze died 26 December in a mysterious helicopter accident and Security chief Vlad, who joined the National Salvation Front in the first hours of the revolution, was arrested shortly afterward.

[Lupoi] Correct. The Front triumphed with the Army's help. The Securitate members loyal to Ceausescu have stopped fighting. It is not clear what the rest are doing,

partly because nobody knows the exact structure of the organization. The computer memory that explains it in detail is intact, but it is necessary to find the one who holds the key to deciphering it. So the former Securitate can still influence the authorities. Eventually Iliescu and his supporters realized that they could not rely on the support of the Army rank and file and the young officers, and they had to come to an agreement with the former Securitate. Securitate members however want only one thing: to become reintegrated into society. Their training schools are closed and they will have no successors. They are the last generation of their race and will try to survive in the new society. This is why they are seeking an agreement with Iliescu. Meanwhile they pass to the opposition groups compromising information that the latter use against the new authorities. Thus they are preparing to dissociate from Iliescu again.

[Bertinetto] This is a very complex game, assuming that this is how things are. What role could foreign secret services have had in all this? Was Militaru really a KGB agent?

[Lupoi] Yes, I know from counterespionage officers that concrete evidence against him is contained in the so-called "Corbu" file. Ceausescu released him not for being a dissident, but for being a Soviet informer, a traitor. I do not believe however that the USSR or any other state will interfere in the course of events in Romania. I would say, more simply, that anyone trying to seize power in any country will inevitably be contacted by representatives of foreign powers.

PNUC Session Lauds Television's Role in Dec

AU2802221490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2139 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—A meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] was held on Wednesday, February 28, 1990, under the chairmanship of Council President Mr Ion Iliescu.

Besides the members of the Executive Bureau, the meeting was attended, as invited guests, by ministers and executives of central bodies.

Approaching the first item in the agenda, Mr. Razvan Theodorescu, president of the Romanian Radio and Television, read a report on the activity of the television station under the present circumstances.

During the talks that followed, emphasis was placed on the remarkable role television played in the course of the December revolution, in presenting events on the days and in the weeks that followed.

The number of television viewers and of broadcast hours was shown to have increased substantially, with broadcasts having been diversified.

In context, the positive significance was considered of the reintroduction of broadcasts in the languages of the ethnic minorities and emphasis was placed on the need to further improve the content of the broadcasts intended for the national minorities. Furthermore, the Romanian television was shown to have had its broadcasts that offered palpable opportunities for the expression of opinions and of the political platforms of various political parties and groupings and public organizations, in the spirit of the political and social pluralism in our country.

During the talks, the need was underscored for the television station to further improve its programmes, as well as the modalities of making them, so that its informative and cultural role and its capacity to meet the requirements for the diversification of the spiritual needs of various segments of viewers may enhance.

Stress was laid on the need to schedule broadcasts on the political, economic and social issues facing the country, to organize a live dialogue with the citizens with a view to forming an active civic consciousness. The determination was expressed to participate, from a constructive platform to the improvement of activities in all areas, to the stimulation of processes aimed at democratic renewal in our society, to the ensurance of a climate of political and social stability.

Noting that the technical outfit the television station is currently equipped with was worn out, which jeopardizes the quality of its broadcasts, the Executive Bureau considered that the television station should be supported materially so that its technical equipment may be improved to allow for broadcasts achieved in all conditions and on high levels of quality.

The Executive Bureau also examined and endorsed a decree-law on measures to organize and exercise the lawyer's profession in Romania. In consideration of the democratic principle of the guarantee of the exercise of the right to defence, the status of free profession was established which the lawyer's profession should have by its very nature and, consequently, it was decided that it should no longer be subordinated to the Ministry of Justice. With a view to fulfilling that principle, provisions were made for the recreation of the Lawyers' Union of Romania and of the Union Council, which will take over the attributes of the Ministry of Justice as far as the management of the activities specific to that profession is concerned.

The Executive Bureau also adopted a decree-law on the assignment and change of names, whereby the competences are set relative to the assignment and change of names in the case of administrative-territorial units, economic and sociocultural units, parks, squares, streets, etc.

Both decrees were previously examined and endorsed by a number of specialized commissions of the Provisional National Unity Council. The decrees are to be released in the OFFICIAL MONITOR.

The Executive Bureau also looked into routine questions and set measures for the preparation of the session of the Provisional National Unity Council due on March 2, 1990.

Karoly Kiraly Urges Support For Minorities

AU0703192290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1754 GMT 7 Mar 90

["Karoly Kiraly: 'We Have Our Own Nationalists'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/3/1990—We do have our own mistakes, admits Karoly Kiraly, vice president of the Provisional National Unity Council, in the second part of an interview with the newspaper "ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO," mentioning, inter alia, the perturbation of the instructional process late in the first trimester, in the holidays. In many places, where this situation was not received with the necessary understanding, it undoubtedly was a cause for irritation. We do have our own nationalists, he said, adding that they were no threat to the state, to general consensus. The chauvinist nationalist elements of the dominant nation are far more dangerous, Mr. Kiraly said, owing to their shows and attitudes which can question a process as a whole.

Mr. Kiraly also referred to an understanding with the Romanian authorities to the effect that each side will fight against its own nationalists and added that respecting that understanding the Magyar side had made no extremist statements.

Mr. Kiraly expressed optimism as concerns the forthcoming endorsement of the law of the creation of a ministry of minorities and stated for the adoption by the Provisional National Unity Council of a declaration on the individual and collective rights of the minorities, with the document of Alba Iulia of December 1, 1918 as its legal basis.

Arguing the necessity of that declaration, Mr. Kiraly showed that some take democracy in a selective sense and want to apply it as follows: more democracy for the majority and less democracy for the minorities and, in that framework, a little more for Magyars, a little less for Germans, and nothing for the Greek or the Armenian. This is something impossible, because democracy is one and it is indivisible, Mr. Kiraly pleads. It is only in this way that we will be able to find each other again, it is only in this way that our country will be able to step into the common European home with dignity, he wound up.

PNUC Meets, Discusses Presidential Election

AU0803092890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0819 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Official News—Meeting of Provisional National Unity Council's Executive Bureau"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/2/1990—The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council met in session Wednesday 7 March under the chairmanship of Mr. Ion Iliescu, the Council's President.

The Executive Bureau discussed the bill on the election of Romania's Parliament and president.

Proposals were made by Executive Bureau members to amend some of its provisions. It was unanimously decided that, in that form, the bill for the election of Romania's Parliament and president be put before the Provisional National Unity Council when it meets in session Friday 9 March.

The Executive Bureau considered several draft decrees-laws initiated by the government that were on the agenda:

- a decree-bill on amending certain rules concerning the "writers literary stamp" as one of the Writers' Union's financial sources;
- a decree-bill on the creation of a "theatrical stamp" to support the activities of the Romanian Theatrical Union;
- a decree-bill on the five-day work week in state units which regulates the transition to a generalized five-day work week until the end of the third quarter of 1990;
- a decree-bill on attracting foreign investment in Romania by way of joint ventures which provide a new framework for and stimulate the establishment, organization and functioning of joint ventures in Romania on new economic principles and lifts the restrictions of the laws in force in this field;
- a decree-bill on cancelling certain legal provisions concerning the pay terms for the personnel of construction-assembly units;
- a decree-bill on the granting of certain rights to the underground traffic operating personnel;
- a decree-bill on the granting of certain rights to the railroad traffic operating personnel;
- a decree-bill on the full and shorter military service of the youth under which youths should be called up at the age of 20 and their military service is set for 12 months for all arms except the navy and the border patrol navy where the duration is 16 months. Furthermore, for young men admitted to civilian higher learning institutes the military service is reduced to six months and is to be done after graduation from the higher school.

The Executive Bureau decided that these decrees-bills, in their amended form after the meeting and favourably advised by the council's specialist commissions, be forwarded to the Provisional National Unity Council when it meets in session.

The Executive Bureau also solved current questions and established the measures for the calling and preparation of the Provisional National Unity Council's session of 9 March 1990.

Ceausescu's Bodyguards Acquitted, Released

AU0703185490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] The territorial military tribunal, which met in a public session on 7 March 1990, acquitted the accused Major Aurel David, Major Florian Rat, Captain Marian Constantin Rusu, and Captain Paulica Tanasi, former employees of Service 1 of Directorate 5 of the former State Security Department. They had been charged with helping the dictator, an infringement stipulated by Article 264, Paragraph 1 with reference to Article 173, Paragraph 3 and by Article 361, Paragraph 2, by applying Article 33 of the Penal Code [words indistinct]. The defendants were set free.

Timisoara Genocide Trial Continues 8 Mar

AU0703211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1929 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/3/1990—The Supreme Court of Law, Military Department, continues the examination of the 21 persons that stand trial for abetting genocide and other offences committed in the period of revolution in Timisoara city.

Defendants Filip Teodorescu, former deputy chief of the Third Department of Counterintelligence-Securitate and Gabriel Anastasiu, former deputy chief of the Internal Intelligence Department under the State Security Department were examined on March 7.

They were on the operative security command made up on December 17, 1989, headed by defendant Emil Macri.

Both during penal investigation and in declarations before the court of law, the two defendants admitted that during the revolution in Timisoara they unfolded the respective activities.

The session continues on Thursday, March 8.

Magyar Students Want Proportional Representation

LD0703125190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] In Tirgu Mures, university students of Magyar nationality have begun a sit-down strike to fight for their rights. Their chief demand is that Magyar students should be granted proportional representation in the leadership of the local university. Originally the university council elections should have been held last month, but this did not materialize, mainly because of opposition by Romanian students and teachers. Another thing that has obviously contributed to the Tirgu Mures student strike is that the discussion of Hungarian and Romanian nationality students' representatives ended unsuccessfully in Bucharest yesterday.

Deputy Interior Ministers Survey Magyar Issues

AU0703120390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1124 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/3/1990—The town of Artand (the Hungarian Republic) hosted an official meeting between deputy ministers of the interior of Romania and the Hungarian Republic. Corneliu Diamandescu and Andras Turos informed each other about the home policy of the two countries discussing the tasks of the two ministries such as crime prevention, public order and the improvement of police's activity.

They surveyed the situation of the Romanian immigrants in Hungary, the regulation of their juridical status and the measures to be taken in this respect. The Romanian side, on the basis of the normative act for passport issue, informed about the procedure of the settlement of the Romanian citizens in Hungary, of the repatriation of fugitives respectively.

The two deputy ministers highlighted the importance of setting the cooperation between the police bodies of Romania and the Hungarian Republic on new bases, more particularly in catching delinquents, safeguarding public order, controlling road traffic and border crossing. It was agreed that the working meetings of representatives of the two ministries, at both a central and local level, should be held regularly.

Romanian-Hungarian Broadcasting Agreement Signed

LD0703143690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Correspondent's report from Bucharest]

[Text] In the past five years there has been no valid work agreement between the Hungarian and Romanian broadcasting authorities. The December revolution and the political changes have created a favorable possibility for renewing and developing relations. This morning a two-year agreement was signed, on the Romanian side by Eugen Preda, deputy managing director of Free Romanian Radio and Television, and on the Hungarian side by Dr. Tibor Ritter, vice president of the Hungarian radio service.

Also present was Pal Szuets, our country's Bucharest ambassador. This is the first agreement of this kind concluded by Romania since the revolution.

Hungarian Leader Urges Guarantees for Youth

AU0803103690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0922 GMT 8 Mar 90

["Parties Introduce Themselves—The Hungarian Democratic Union and the Youth"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—We believe guarantees are needed that totalitarianism may never return, not even in a more humanist, open guise, says

Domokos Geza in answer to a survey initiated by ADEVARUL on the theme "youth and the parties".

Credible guarantees should be offered to youths that they not be manipulated in future, that they can take an active part in public life, stresses the president of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania.

I think they will be able to take advantage of quiet and trust in their ethnical minority when they see that such rights—sanctioned by the constitution, by a national minorities law—as the free use of the mother tongue, fair representation in the political, administrative and judicial life are achieved, says Mr. Domokos.

Party Leaders' Commentaries on Dec Revolution

By Agrarian Party's Teaci

AU0103163190 Bucharest ADEVARUL
in Romanian 22 Feb 90 p 5

["What Does the Country Look Like in Freedom. Opinions by Political Figures: Dumitru Teaci, president of the Provisional Coordinating Council of the Agrarian Democratic Party"]

[Text] Without the December revolution, led mainly by our country's youth, who made bloody sacrifices, and before whom we bow piously and gratefully, both the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania and all the other political parties and formations, as well as religious, professional, and public organizations, as forms of free democratic expression, would not have existed.

The pluralism of ideas and political concepts gave birth to a new situation after the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, a body that constitutes a stabilizing factor for the legislative power in our country, and that is able to ensure the civilized preparation and unfolding of free elections in May this year.

Therefore, we express our concern with and indignation at the demonstrations by extremist elements who lack civilized conduct, elements coming from the periphery of our society which are dissatisfied with everybody and themselves, and who can provoke chaos in the ideas and aspirations of people, particularly economic chaos, and civil and fratricidal war.

The ideals of the revolution can be fulfilled by achieving the full rights of human, not subhuman, freedom. This can be achieved in a prosperous society in which each one has his work, because without work there is no freedom. Therefore, we militate to create the necessary atmosphere for our country's economic recovery, to avoid the disorganization of the production process in all its forms—from private farms up to large industrial and agricultural units—and to ensure trust among people, and eliminate fear and suspicion.

Romania has to regain its place among the European nations rapidly. Paying homage to the December revolution in Romania, we appeal to reason and for the prevention of totalitarianism, whose embryos always emerged from extremist movements, and we call for honest work in all areas.

Let us prove to the world, particularly to the western world, that we are a civilized people who are able to build a society and economy like those of the civilized nations.

By Peasants Party's Coposu

AU0203143790 Bucharest ADEVARUL
in Romanian 22 Feb 90 p 1,5

["What Does the Country Look Like in Freedom? Opinions by Certain Political Figures—Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasants Party (Christian-Democratic)"]

[Text] The revolution enabled us to return to legality. Our party—which, before the revolution, had operated underground—resumed its activity on 22 December 1989. The revolution gave us hope that public freedoms and human rights, which were violated by the dictatorship, will be restored.

How do we assess the current political climate? Well, we are going through a difficult period of confusion, agitation, and instability. People are disoriented and fearful. Irresponsible actions that promote violence and intimidation are directed from the shadows, especially against our party, something which is not in anybody's interest. These actions have created confusion among the Romanian public, a confusion which is fed by daily threats and absurd calumnies of the most authentic Stalinist nature. This state of anxiety, tension, and fear must end. Both the political parties, including the National Salvation Front Party, on the one hand, and the Provisional National Unity Council and the government, on the other hand, spoke out categorically against violence, dictatorial methods, and repression and solemnly pledged to restore harmony and true democracy.

What can be done to assert the ideals of the revolution? We believe that all decisionmakers should sincerely strive to pave the way for true democracy. One should give up all electoral maneuvers that destabilize the situation; one should renounce demonstrations and counterdemonstrations which can get out of hand; and one should put an end to the manipulation of public opinion, and stop inciting people, under all kinds of imaginary pretexts, against potential political adversaries. One should promote a civilized atmosphere of reconciliation and dialogue. We must strictly respect democratic institutions and procedures. All of our country's citizens have the patriotic duty of always remembering the supreme sacrifice of the young generation, who gave their lives to overthrow the communist tyranny and defend the democracy from the assault of impostors and people thirsty for power. We will thus be

able to stabilize and normalize the situation and to fulfill the major ideals of the people freed from oppression, to the supreme benefit of a free and dignified future.

Daily on Victory Square Demonstrations

AU0203151290 Bucharest ADEVARUL
in Romanian 21 Feb 90 p 1,3

[Darie Novaceanu article: "The Miners and the Parliamentarians"]

[Text] I do not know whether I actually said it or only wanted to say what I am writing now after I saw, for the second time, the Jiu Valley miners rallying in Victory Square on 19 February: For evil to triumph, it is enough that the good should do nothing.

There are many good people in this country, people who are sitting with their arms folded doing nothing. This passivity begins to have its impact, which is contrary to what one would expect, since it leaves maneuvering leeway for certain social groups (maybe political or even professional, if we think of the Securitate), groups that are determined to destroy and destabilize the country.

We say destabilization, but we begin to think that perhaps this is an understatement. What happened on 18 February in the Victory Square can be qualified—if the Western papers have not already done so—as an attempted palace coup. The entire sequence of events proves just that, which is pretty serious; most serious in fact. That is why we are awaiting with great interest, the result of the "inquiry into the circumstances," as promised by Mr. Jean Moldoveanu [chief of the General Police Inspectorate]. We want to publish the results of the inquiry, together with the list of the 102-plus-39 making up the "group of persons" currently in custody under investigation.

The real motives of the protesters, and the number of claims presented by them after the events—that is, in a totally undemocratic manner—are irrelevant. Also irrelevant are the written or chanted slogans, which were prepared so well that the tyrant's former scribblers might have committed suicide out of envy. They are irrelevant only on the surface, because they are quite important in actual fact. These well-prepared slogans chanted in the square coinciding with the violence that broke out there may provide possible clues to the attempted palace coup. What would have happened, for example, if Mr. Ion Iliescu, elected through the consensus (or agreement) of all parties to lead the country until the elections, had been there? Would he have been treated in the same way as Mr. Gelu Voican? Can anyone give a sure and responsible answer to this question?

Anyway, I am sure that nobody would believe anyone who might risk giving an answer to this question. Likewise, I am pretty sure that I am not alone in asking myself this question. All those who are sincerely worried

about what is happening, including the Jiu Valley miners present last Monday night in Victory Square, ask themselves the same question.

It is now the second time that the miners have come to Bucharest to stop the evil; we must confess that, in their way, they are doing it in an exemplary manner, although that does not mean that they have actually succeeded in stopping it. As a matter of fact—leaving aside certain important details because of lack of space—they were not called to Bucharest, they were asked (belatedly) not to come, attempts were even made to stop them on their way to Bucharest, and so forth. Since they limited themselves to dialogue with some members of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], the situation began to become complicated to the disadvantage of all sides.

Proving that they do not need to be told what they must do, the miners stated openly what they think and said it without beating about the bush. They said it so directly, that some PNUC representatives were not only at a loss for words, but must have also had some qualms of conscience. The permanent "parade" through Victory Square, understood to be a symbol of democracy and liberty, begins to have serious repercussions for the country as a whole, primarily in the economic sphere, but also in the political one. One does not see the truth so well from the square and the palace, no matter how big the truth might be! However, from a distance, including from the Jiu Valley, the truth can be seen in a clear-cut way. That is exactly what the miners' representatives said with maturity and full knowledge of the facts, thus proving that they can be equally good miners and parliamentarians.

Seen from this angle, the dialogue appears to be faultless. However, this is not the only angle from which it should be seen. Apart from their impeccable discipline and strictness, they acted in this dialogue as a new political formation, as a kind of ad hoc superparty determined to make its own justice, to safely bring back order, and to maintain it as long as necessary. Well, this is not right. Not right at all. Seen from this angle, many people might claim that two assaults were committed in Victory Square: a diurnal and a nocturnal one.

Obviously, the root cause of this assault was not the sincerity of the miners, but rather the insincerity of those who provoke the country's destruction and destabilization. This is how I would like my comments to be understood. For evil not to triumph, the good should not stay inactive, thus forcing the miners to engage in both politics and mining.

Our editorial room received news about their return to work with the assurance that coal production will not suffer. It would not be such a bad idea if other people, instead of "parading," would dig some coal from the abundantly dangerous underground pits, at least until

the elections. Likewise, it would not be a bad idea for some parliamentarians to be miners in the Jiu Valley, at least for a Sunday.

Miners Questioned on Role in 18 Feb Incidents

AU0203181190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 21 Feb 90 p 1

[Mihai Creanga article: "Questions I Would Have Liked Not To Ask"]

[Text]—Was it really necessary for the several thousand miners from the Jiu Valley to come to Bucharest?

—Assuming that there was a real threat of a counterrevolution, do the miners believe that the large workers' collectives and the people of Bucharest would have stayed inactive?

—Do the Jiu Valley miners view themselves as the sole defenders of the revolution and state institutions?

—Although—as many people noted—they were the last ones to arrive in Bucharest (only on 23-24 December and in much smaller numbers than on 29 January and 19 February) they were the first ones to lodge claims, while workers from the other branches of the national economy understood that it is not the time to assault the provisional government with such claims, that it cannot perform miracles overnight or immediately meet claims, even if they are justified?

—Why do the Jiu Valley miners think that it is normal to have their travel expenses paid by the state budget? How will they be judged by the whole country if we publicize the cost of their travel, which seems to become a habit?

—What would happen if numerous other working collectives—some of which also perform hard labor—were to demand the higher wages which the miners have received, as well as the other conditions (a reduced schedule, gratuities, and so forth) which they also have received?

—What is the explanation for the priority given to miners in direct discussions with Mr. President Ion Iliescu, government members, and the members of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council? What other social category has benefited so far from being received as the miners have been?

—Does the military have to take their oath of allegiance toward the Romanian people or only in front of the miners? If so, are there others in line to swear loyalty to them?

—In what way are the wives and children of the miners threatened now? Have the workers from other cities told them that they will come to Petrosani to put things into order there with "their specific tools?" Do the miners really want to become the terror of our wives and children in Bucharest?

—Do the miners believe that it is right to speak as they spoke—on television—to the representatives of the nation and to the whole nation?

—And, for the time being, a last question: How is it that, despite their extraordinary revolutionary enthusiasm,

coal production for January 1990 amounts to barely 68.8 percent of the production in January 1989?

Party Positions on Communists Published

AU0203214590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1739 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—"ROMANIA LIBERA" daily has inaugurated the column "What Is Your Party's Stand on Communists?" Here are several opinions: The Free Democratic, Social Justice Party of Romania President Prof. Gheorghe Susanu: We think that not all those who were members of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] were communists. Those who, through their attitude and conduct, worsened the people's suffering during the communist dictatorship must be removed from decision-making offices and be appointed to jobs appropriate to their training. Those who did not make such prejudices must enjoy all consideration and all rights just as any citizen of the country. They can become members of our party. As a matter of fact this stand is reflected in our party's platform which stipulates the guaranteeing by the Constitution of the exercise of all civic rights and freedoms with no discrimination as to race, religion, sex or political orientation, just as the guaranteeing and observance of every citizen's opinion within the political pluralism, with no restriction.

Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party: We do not consider the RCP membership as an obstacle to people's involvement in the Romanian political life. Four million Romanians who, due to maybe unique circumstances and to a boundless tyranny, were constrained or forced to become RCP members, cannot be marginalized. We consider this membership as inexistent. We are against the nomenclature who, through their attitude, contributed to the country's disaster, committed crimes, abuses and illegalities which have deeply prejudiced the population in Romania. We do not fight against the people forced to adhere to the RCP, but communism as an idea. The December revolution was not against Ceausescu exclusively but also against the communist idea.

Niculae Cerveni, president of the Liberal Socialist Party [LSP]: Our party closes its gates to all those who were linked to the communist dictatorships of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceausescu, holding offices in the Central Committee. As for the mass of party members, roughly 3.8 million, the LSP does not think that they cannot adhere to any political party of Romania just because they were members of that party. It is known that most of the RCP members are people of 35-45 years of age who are genuine values in all areas of activity, having to become party members as early as their student years not to be stopped in their professional accomplishment.

Taxes Not Levied on Recent Party Registrations

AU0303170490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0914 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Political Life: Details From the Bucharest Municipal Court of Law"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—None of the 49 political parties registered until February 27, 1990 with the Bucharest Municipal Court of Law paid any registration tax and that for the simple reason that the law does not provide for it, and the Court of Law did not levy such a tax, mentions Marin Popa, president of the Bucharest Municipal Court of Law in a letter to the director of daily ADEVARUL and to the editors of the RENASTEREA review (a publication of the National Peasant Party). The president of the Bucharest Court of Law also shows that the decisions of the political parties' registration were pronounced, in 43 cases, the day after the applications were filed, the demarches were postponed for one day in four cases and for two days in two cases, since the applicant parties had not presented for the records all papers provided for by the law. All decisions, that remained final, regarding the registration, were handed over to the respective parties' representatives present in the court.

On offering these details, the president of the Bucharest Municipal Court of Law rejects the assertions contained in an open letter addressed by Mrs Doina Cornea to the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council president and published in the February 9 issue of the RENASTEREA review whereby the author of the letter reproached the judiciary bodies for bureaucratic attitude, repeated delay in the registration of the parties and the levying of enormous registration taxes over 100,000 lei. Both assertions are likely to generate confusion, misinform public opinion and impair the prestige of the judiciary as an independent power in the state, notes the president of the Municipal Court, insisting that such assertions should never be repeated.

* Opposition Views on Foreign, Domestic Policy

* Social Democratic Party

90EB0300A Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian
22 Feb 90 p 5

[Interview with Mira Moscovici, secretary of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, by Aurel Zamfirescu; place and date not given; first paragraph is LUMEA AZI introduction]

[Text] Our magazine continues the presentation of the parties that resumed political activities or were formed after the 22 December Revolution. In this issue we have a discussion with Mrs. Mira Moscovici, secretary of the Social-Democratic Party [RSDP], in which stress was placed—in keeping with the nature of our magazine—on foreign policy. However, the first questions dealt with the historical evolution and political coloring of the RSDP.

[LUMEA AZI] Is the RSDP a historical party?

[Moscovici] I hesitate to use the word historical; perhaps traditional. Even young people reacted with fear at the idea of history. But history is necessary. If we don't know the real history of the party and the country, we cannot change. The RSDP is about 100 years old, with recognized activities dating back to 1893. By tradition, its activities are linked to history. The socialist and social-democratic movements in Romania have always been connected to the trade union movement. Everyone in the current leadership of the party comes from the former social-democratic party, more precisely the group called independent social-democratic and formed around Titel Petrescu, secretary general, and Adrian Dimitriu, who is now honorary chairman. They came from the old social-democratic party which was dismantled in 1948 by the so-called fusion with the Communist Party, which in fact was a forced "inclusion." The majority of us are second and even third generation social-democrats. We call it a traditional party, like the other two parties, the National Liberal and the National Peasant Parties, which are recognized as democratic political organizations with long-standing activities, and with which we cooperate because we knew each other in the difficult past; we continue to recognize each other as democratic parties. Of course, we are open to the newly created organizations, with which we will cooperate if they prove to be democratic parties, like us.

[LUMEA AZI] What is the social basis of the party?

[Moscovici] We traditionally draw on all the working people, without any discrimination of whether it is physical or intellectual work, and on all those who make some contribution to developing the country.

[LUMEA AZI] What about ideology?

[Moscovici] Once again, it is the traditional social-democratic ideology of Romania, which we will not abandon because we have no reason to do so, naturally adapted to the fantastic conditions of the present technical progress, proceeding from a social policy and a policy of social justice for the individual.

[LUMEA AZI] I think that after this short presentation we can go on to discussing foreign policy. Has the RSDP managed to establish or reestablish ties to other parties abroad?

[Moscovici] Once again I have to mention our tradition—our party has traditionally had relations with other socialist and social-democratic parties in Europe and with the Socialist International. When we resumed organized activities on 24 December, we apprised the Socialist International and the parties belonging to it of that fact. They knew that we were continuing our activities. We always tried to maintain ties. Twice, when I was in France, I got in touch with the Socialist Party and its trade union. The proof that our activities were recognized is the fact that 20 times the old regime refused to issue me a visa to travel abroad.

[LUMEA AZI] What are the RSDP's basic stands in the area of foreign policy?

[Moscovici] Resuming Romania's traditionally good relations with all European states, beginning with our neighbors. In the conditions currently prevailing around us, when most of the former satellite countries have also become free and share the same problems, we must seek to solve them together. As a state, we have no quarrel with anyone, and together with our neighbors, we want to rejoin Europe.

[LUMEA AZI] Why do you think Romania became internationally isolated, especially in the past 10 years?

[Moscovici] For a long time people abroad were not aware of our situation. Today one cannot ignore human rights in any European country, and Romania is a European country. Once the real situation of human rights—even the genocide, we can say, that was being committed in Romania in recent years—became known, civilized countries avoided further contacts with the government. That was a normal measure, so as not to encourage an antihuman system. In the area of economics, Romania was known as a capricious partner, which did not observe contract terms and schedules and led to our isolation. The isolation was in a way desired, because the former regime was not interested in equal state relations, only [relations] at a presidential level. It was afraid of contamination. But the contamination did occur, because no European state can be isolated.

[LUMEA AZI] What do you think the current government should immediately do in the area of foreign policy?

[Moscovici] It should continue to encourage existing foreign relations and work to improve them where conflicts exist, so as to eliminate any blockage from them. Naturally, in its foreign activities, the government must take into consideration our geopolitical context, because it is within that context that we live.

* NCDPP Position

90EB0300B Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian
22 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Ioan Alexandru, deputy chairman of the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party [NCDPP]; place and date not given]

[Text] [LUMEA AZI] You recently returned from Brussels, where you led a NCDPP delegation to the meeting of the political bureau of the Christian Democratic International [CDI]. What significance do you attach to the fact that your party was accepted as a member of the CDI on that occasion? What issues were discussed at the meeting?

[Alexandru] The CDI has as members Christian Democratic parties from all over the world. It is currently the largest international in the world, because Christianity has become the most generous and honest, diligent, and tolerant spirituality in the world, based on love and justice. Its founder was God Himself, reborn from death almost 2,000 years ago.

The Romanian people were created from the spirit of the Christian faith, and whenever history was cruel to us, we

had a refuge to turn to. We returned to the faith after the devastation of the migrating nations; we returned to Christ after the struggles against the Turks; that is our cradle, mother, and life, and after the darkness of the atheistic ideology, we are back to our, and the world's, Christianity.

In Brussels we witnessed unique, elevating moments, joining in with the great Christian family of the world, which we as a people will never leave again, as we actually never did, despite the disasters that hit us.

Mankind has no other alternative, one speaker said; it's either Christian love, or a continuation of hatred, despair, and lies in one form or another.

[LUMEA AZI] Created on 22 December 1989 by the fusion of the National Peasant Party and the Christian National Peasant Party, your party combines, if I am not mistaken, the known, traditional options with a new stress on Christian values. What is the significance of this ideological change? Did it play a role in confirming your membership in the international democratic-christian movement?

[Alexandru] Today more than ever before, Romania needs unity. However, after decades of separation, class struggles, division, and strife, we are convinced that only Christian love alone can save us as a nation. We strongly believe that; it has always been our conviction and not just ours, but of our entire past.

It was good that we had a place to return to; we knew that Christ's Church was the paternal home open to all, to the spiritually sick, the living, and the sleeping.

On the night of 22 December we came in from the bloody streets to form a Christian party and a Christian magazine, the RENAISSANCE. Then we united with Iuliu Maniu's National Peasant Party, having discovered our common program, and placing the emphasis on what Iuliu Maniu's lifework was about: Christian morality and faith in Christ.

As a Transylvanian I could not remain outside this party, which has provided Christian-democratic answers to most of the questions regarding Romania's history.

The NCDPP appeals to the two vital energies of our nation: Christian faith and diligence, and the nobility of the Romanian peasant. Both those values were damaged under the dictatorship, and both must be reborn. Once we have a healthy peasantry, owners of their ancestral land, and a truly Christian spiritual life, everything will fall into place, we will have bread on the table for our children, and the bread of Christ's sacrifice.

The Romanian workers are sons of peasants, too. The same applies to the intellectuals. Like the Japanese, we are a nation of peasants. We can build a modern Romania, based on honest labor and the honesty of our hearts, penetrated by the compassion of Christian love, which will always maintain the brotherhood among ourselves and with all the people of the world.

[LUMEA AZI] In keeping with the proclamation of Alba Iulia of December 1918, your party's program sanctions full equality among all the cohabiting nationalities in Romania and among all religious faiths. You speak out for their autonomy in matters of education and culture, but not in politics. Speaking specifically of Transylvania, do you think that the current developments are in keeping with your vision? How do you see the continuation of the national consensus manifested during the December Revolution in this respect, too?

[Alexandru] Once again our beloved Transylvania, the heart and cradle of the Romanian people...

We must state that aside from Romanians, Romania is inhabited by national minorities who under the dictatorship had none of the rights that a communist ideology pretends to offer in its pursuit of a new man, a sort of monster that never existed and never will exist, just as no remnant was every discovered of the moment when the ape became man.

We are all preparing for a united Europe, for spiritual borders, and for opening among people. Gone forever, we hope, is the policy of isolation and of nationalistic chauvinism, of whatever origin.

Concerning the bridges possible between the Romanian nation and the minorities living in our country, I want to state that there is only one, on which all others depend, namely Christian love. I said this to the television public in Hungary a few years ago, and I want to repeat it now through your magazine.

The Christian love in our hearts on both sides of the border will offer the best response to all the problems between us. We must talk at length to each other, must get to know our hearts, and really love each other.

Romania has regained its sovereignty among the other nations of Europe thanks to the enormous sacrifices of our youth in December. Everyone must realize that only through a sincere dialogue and gaining rights in keeping with the interests of the nation can we rejoin the natural path from which the Communist dictatorship derailed us.

If today scientists struggle to save rare and endangered species of plants, how can we not struggle to save even the smallest ethnic minority that God wanted in its unique form of life on earth? I wholeheartedly hope to contribute to maintaining the specific life of the Hungarians, Saxons, Serbians, Jews, Ukraines, Gypsies, Turks, and all others in Romania.

The language in which the Hungarians pray to God is as sacred as that of the Germans and of all others, and our language is equally sacred.

This sacred ethnicity must be respected at any cost.

I was in Belgium, where various ethnic nationalities live together in complete harmony. They are Christians, they speak each other's languages, they are brothers, but they haven't lost their specific nature. We must get used to

living together day by day. Hatred is diabolical. Only love will save the world. The future belongs to Christian love, Tagore said, because Christian love includes enemies, too. You must love those who hit you and persecute you. That's the only way to chase evil out of history. The one who loves is powerful, and his is both the earth and heaven.

[LUMEA AZI] Would you like to convey anything to our readers?

[Alexandru] Love each other. As John the Evangelist said, 'My sons, love each other!'

*** Remnants of Ceausescu Era Decried**

90EB0298A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 13, 14 Feb 90

[Two-part article by Octavian Paler: "What Is Happening To Us?"]

[13 Feb pp 1, 2]

[Text] For decades we lived in a society that looked like a mixture of garrison, prison, and atheistic monastery. Only one voice had a right to express an opinion. The rest of us were doomed to the farce of unanimous approval, full support, etc. We hoped that, once the slavery of unanimity collapsed, the ruins in which the country was left by the dictatorship would put our consciences in a state of moral alert and encourage us to serious and authentic dialogue. Instead, on Friday night, the television broadcast of the first session (the formation session) of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] treated us to a spectacle that in my opinion, was demoralizing from several viewpoints and which at times competed, unfortunately, with Caragiale [satirical writer]. Some of the speakers seemed to want to demonstrate that revolutionary demagoguery could have the same embarrassing effects as the despotic demagoguery, or may have been determined to discredit the very idea of dialogue and of political pluralism, which is so important for a democracy and so vital for a society exhausted by the nightmare of a single party. Until late into the night I watched, sometimes with an irresistible desire to run away from it all, the most unexpected demonstration that this so-called interim parliament could have offered us, namely that abandoning unanimity is not without its dangers. Such spectacles, in which the struggle for power overshadows the care for the country's problems, risk compromising our democracy before we have had time to really enjoy its resources.

Some may claim that such things happen in all parliaments. I agree. Except that we are at a time in our history when we cannot afford to be humorous about it. I, at least, am not amused by hearing Catavencu's rhetoric transferred from the stage of the National Theater to a building in which the fate of the country is being decided. Not one smile crossed my lips as words were exploding into my ears that should have been uttered with some modesty, precisely because they are so important. On the other hand, around 0200, I was asking

myself: What is happening to us? For some time our privacy has been violated by politics from morning to night. I have not read one book in the past seven weeks, just newspapers and magazines. I inevitably discuss politics with everyone I meet. The same is probably occurring to others. We are moving in an atmosphere supersaturated by political passions, which turns even taciturn people into chatterboxes and inflames the most reasonable spirits, and nevertheless, instead of making ourselves clearer, we become more and more enmeshed in fears, or at least that's what's happening to me. I feel that I'm groping in the dark, that I have more and more difficulty understanding what is going on, and that I am walking on moving sands. Moreover, I am afraid that in the din that has followed our long silence, each one's loneliness is increasing instead of abating, and that we are understanding each other less and less. In short, the value we most need now, namely national solidarity, is unraveling, making room for a war by everyone against everyone. Why is that? After being united in our hatred of the dictatorship, can we not remain united before the danger of missing our perhaps only chance of establishing a true democracy?

Of course, for a long time we were inspired only by a negative desire: to see the dictatorship collapse. We were telling ourselves: Let's first be rid of Ceausescu, then we'll see. So the euphoria of liberation found us unprepared. From silence, we suddenly found ourselves in an uproar. Freedom has invaded us and we are still dazed by this violent change. We have become nervous, unbridled, and at times even unbearable. In December, despair united us so strongly that we overcame our fear. Some of us attained the sublime limits of courage, putting freedom above their own lives. But now, can't we find even a minimum of clear-sightedness to understand that we risk diminishing or even wasting the victory we reaped? And, especially, have we been that incapacitated by our experiences that we can allow ourselves to be manipulated by the ghost of a monster without realizing it?

This, in fact, is the point I meant to make. Ceausescu's legacy is far from being limited to the country's economic ruin. It would seem that equally damaged have been our logic and our reactions, and in the final analysis, relations among ourselves. Our solidarity in despair during the revolution, and our solidarity in euphoria in the days following Ceausescu's fall, for a time masked the evil. But as soon as the romantic phase of the revolution ended, this evil erupted violently. It can be said that no one is trusting anyone. No one is ready to concede that democracy doesn't mean replacing a single intolerance by a myriad of smaller intolerances. Suspicion, vengefulness, hatred-charged passions, are making ravages. And I cannot stop thinking that everything we experienced for years on end, for decades on end, was not merely an organized aberration—a well worked out disaster patterned first on a foreign model and then made "original"—but a disease. That is what we probably didn't realize on the afternoon of 22 December: that

we were free, but sick. That we were rid of the dictatorship, but that it could continue to damage us through what it had spoiled in us. And that this disease could not be cured in one day, that it could turn fear into something diffuse, capable of poisoning the relations among us and pushing us to destroy with our own hands the chances opened up by the revolution.

Unfortunately, the trial most needed in Romania's history was, for reasons that I can understand up to a point, a caricature of justice. We only got to see Ceausescu punished. We were deprived of a profound judgment of the evil he caused. For reasons that I don't understand at all, the first trial of his aides was not what I had expected, either: a Romanian Nuremberg. Much to our astonishment, it did not exceed the limits of a penal trial. Thus, we missed out on a good opportunity to clarify the roots of the evil, inseparable from the system which produced such a dictatorship, and of looking deeper inside our consciences. Under normal conditions, those trials were more important to us than to the defendants. They should have helped us judge our disease and helped us avoid its consequences in order to avert something terrible: the danger of being the unconscious tools of our long illness.

I am truly horrified by the thought that actually, Ceausescu still lives in our disorientation, mistakes, and confusion, in the aggressiveness with which we rush to waste what we attained at the price of such sacrifice, by bringing him down; that because of the disease which he planted in us with such criminal persistence, we sometimes unconsciously mimic his mentality and impulses that did us so much damage; that, after enduring the most primitive dictatorship, we risk becoming its ghosts in freedom, shouting in the streets slogans that Ceausescu wouldn't have dared launch but which would certainly have made him happy: "Death to the intellectuals," "We Work, Don't Think," "We Don't Need the Splendors of the West." If, out of ulterior motives or irresponsible ambitions, some people did play a role in inciting Romanians against Romanians, manipulating workers against intellectuals, and inciting the country to break off and once again become isolated from the traditional destiny of ties with Western civilization, then those persons can congratulate themselves for succeeding in what Ceausescu tried and failed: To disunite us just when we most need to understand how antinational, after all, is the demagoguery that waves about the scarecrow [idea] of having the country "sold" and how dangerous is the confusion between conscious silence and the silence in which objections are no longer heard. I was told that in front of the Interncontinental and Bucuresti hotels some people demanded the departure of foreign correspondents. From there to the graveyard silence we knew under Ceausescu the distance is not great. There are many sound reasons to assert that one can talk of the country while acting against its interests, and one can talk about democracy with a violence that may presage a new dictatorship. Is it still necessary to prove that real democracy cannot be established without

tolerance and dialogue, without pluralism and a strong opposition capable of setting limits to power and defending it from abuse against itself? Or that, whatever its nature, a single party can only lead to the confiscation of political life, to monologue, and in the final analysis, to tyranny?

[14 Feb pp 1, 2]

We are told about an original path to democracy. How can we not remember that until recently we were being told about an original path to socialism, which indeed turned out horribly original? That's probably why I, for one, would prefer a trite democracy, like in the West, with a trite political life, with a government with a banal legitimacy, honestly decided through voters' ballot, and with a banal opposition, capable of reining in power and preventing it from becoming drunk with itself. I would also prefer a banal economy, in which everything that the Marxist dogmas and their original variations damaged can be eliminated. I would also prefer a banal society, in which one wouldn't fear being beaten up for refusing to be xenophobic or unjust toward compatriots who were forced by circumstances to live abroad for a while.

Ceausescu tried hard and long to convince us that the Romanians who took the road of exile because they felt pursued by the Securitate, or simply because they could no longer endure the "golden era," had simply "sold out" and were unpatriotic. No one believed him. We knew that there was nothing sacred in his stuttering demagoguery and that anything that threatened his power drove him mad. But it seems that poisoned seed does yield deviant fruit. I could not believe my ears the first time I heard someone ask: "Where were until now those who...?" Then I realized that was no single accident or occurrence. The evil from which we suffered was affecting our logic. Oh, God, how can that be? I asked myself. Have we forgotten that Ceausescu's incitement to xenophobia had a clear purpose, namely to isolate us from the world, and leave us defenseless at the discretion of the dictatorship? Have we forgotten that hatred and isolation can only breed moral and material poverty? Other nations in the East—like the Hungarians and Poles—stressed attracting emigrants for the purpose of national recovery. How come we are being pushed along a suicidal original path in the other direction? Whose fault is it? Ceausescu wanted us to believe that hell was Western democracy, but no one believed such nonsense; it was too primitive, too crass, to be believed. Every day, some of our compatriots faced death to escape the paradise offered to us in the form of an expanded jail and to reach the capitalist inferno. Romania never knew such an exodus, which was moreover, all in one direction. Those who left were our brethren in suffering and in tragedy. They left to carry to the world the wound of a lost country. We stayed to live in internal exile. And all of a sudden, like in Ceausescu's most demagogical speeches, we hear that Romanians who took their despair or love of the country into exile should go back! Did no one in the NSF [National Salvation Front] remember at that moment that, had he lived today,

Balcescu would have fallen victim to the same segregation? They didn't remember, since we didn't hear any official revelation of shame of having produced among Romanians (at whose initiative?) a wave of hatred against other Romanians, who were also victims of the dictatorship. And how can it be that, instead of grasping the importance of healing our diseased economy, we are in danger of falling in the web of some demagogical slogans (once again, at whose initiative?) designed to extend or even to perpetuate the disaster caused by an isolationist, antinational policy? For years, Ceausescu tried to erect an invisible Chinese Wall around the country. For years, he tried to force us to forget that genuine patriotism includes rather than excludes, is open to the world rather than shut off in a suffocating and bankrupt nationalism. Romanian diplomacy worked against Romania's interests for a long time. The economists who slavishly exalted tearing the Romanian economy off from the world, by obsessively relying on our own resources, gave legitimacy to an economic variation of xenophobia. But I thought that all that would become a thing of the past after the revolution. We didn't expect to see them assume new, camouflaged forms, along the lines of "we don't even want to know about privatization," or "let those who want to bless us with the experience of the West go back." There are other things we didn't expect. For a while, students didn't admit to being students for fear of being beaten up. Who are those who are organizing fear again? And why? Only those nostalgic for the dictatorship or for the system that gave it birth can profit from confusion and hostility. It is they who are probably whispering in the ears of those disposed to forget what we had out of the system that bred ceausescus [lower case as published] and planned misery, that we are being threatened by an influx of foreign capital (Solidarity leaders traveled the world to convince Western countries to invest in Poland!), or talk about the great misfortune threatening

the peasants to be given back the land stolen from them at Stalin's order. Unfortunately there are people who listen without asking them why they use the same methods as those imposed 44 years ago—and we know by what means. That is one of the things I don't understand. Another concerns the NSF which I think had the duty to clarify the nonsense heard in the streets if it thought that it was against the national interests. But it didn't. Why? Because it changed its views about our rejoining Europe? Or because power interests were stronger than the country's interests, and consequently, they preferred to remain silent, thus encouraging the sad inveighing against Western civilization that allegedly threatened to corrupt, with its money and experience, the "original" misery produced by a compromised system. Unless the NSF has a different understanding of Europe than we do. Which would explain a lot.

There is a lot of talk of peace and quiet. But perhaps we need some unrest, too. Is it possible that those who incite us to hatred and violence, and who rock the boat, want a social crisis to preserve at least some of the things that the revolution detested? I am thinking of the fact that the dictatorship feared nothing as much as our solidarity, and that one of the main concerns of the Securitate was to prevent such solidarity by all possible means, tearing us apart and condemning us to loneliness in order to subdue us. Are the recent slogans like "Death to the Intellectuals," and "We Work, Don't Think," and others, the work of the same specialists in diversion who, in the absence of a dictatorship, would in the meantime be content with popular authoritarianism? And if so, are we to play their game? Romanians against Romanians, workers against intellectuals, to what can such convulsions and rending lead? To one thing only. To deepening the economic, social, and moral crisis into which the dictatorship threw us, and to paving the road to the past. Is this what we want?

Assembly Commission Supports Law on Expellees*LD0703235890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Commission for the Implementation of the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo supported the proposal of Serbia and Montenegro for a law that would redress "a historical mistake" toward settlers expelled from Kosovo and Metohija who were banned from returning and had their property expropriated. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Court on Slovene Internal Law*LD0703232990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today reached the conclusion that the SFRY Presidency proposal for the assessment of the constitutionality of provisions of the law on internal affairs of Slovenia—on the basis of which the meeting of truth in Ljubljana was banned at the time—and their coordination with the law on all-people's defense, be submitted to the assembly of this republic for a reply, and to the Slovene Constitutional Court, in order to assess its compatibility with the republican Constitution.

Considering that the SFRY Presidency is the authorized initiator before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, which otherwise has exclusive powers, the procedure has been launched automatically. Bozidar Bulatovic has been appointed a reporting judge.

Let us recall that the collective head of state, in his petition to the court, pointed out that a ban on gatherings, a measure envisioned by the Slovene law, is not in keeping with the provisions of the SFRY Constitution because this law does not determine the cases and conditions in which gatherings can be banned.

The law on the internal affairs of Slovenia is also contrary to the federal law on all-people's defense, the Presidency maintains, because the restrictions that can be imposed by the republican secretary can only be applied in an emergency situation and can only be proclaimed by the collective head of state.

According to the contested provision of the law, there can be no appeal against the decision of the republican secretary that, in the view of the Presidency, is not in keeping with the federal and republican constitutions. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Militia Commander Details Situation*AU0703152190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Nedeljko Vukovic, commander of the staff of the combined militia unit in Kosovo, has given a news conference in Ajvalija for Yugoslav journalists. Milivoje Mihajlovic has the details:

[Mihajlovic] During the unrest in Kosovo, demonstrators and terrorists opened fire on the militia on more than 100 occasions. The stoning of people in blue uniforms or physical assaults on them by Albanian separatists were virtually a daily occurrence.

Nedeljko Vukovic, commander of the combined militia unit in Kosovo, particularly stressed that Albanian separatists endeavored to create at all costs the greatest possible gulf between the Kosovo militia and members of the unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Fewer militia men were injured in the unrest this year than last year thanks to the fact that they were better equipped and organized. There were cases where militiamen exceeded their powers, and a commission of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is working on this, and all these cases will be quickly resolved.

The commander also pointed out the great amount of disinformation that appeared in the Albanian media and in the press in Slovenia and Croatia, which has an influence on citizens' attitude to members of the militia.

Kosovo Alternative Groups Meet in Mostar*AU0803081890 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Mar 90 p 18*

[B.R., R.T. report: "The Agreement of UJDI"]

[Text] Mostar, 2 Mar—On 1 March, the gathering entitled "Kosovo—Let Us Try for Democracy Again" ended with the adoption of a joint statement for the inauguration of democratic dialogue, which was, however, not signed by the two representatives of the "Council of Truth," Rade Zlatanovic and Radomir Kapetanovic. Within the framework of this gathering, a discussion was also held among local citizens in the Mostar Youth Hall, which also aroused great interest.

We cite some speeches from the debate on the key theme conducted by representatives of alternative groups and associations. Radomir Kapetanovic from the Council of Truth explained that this group was formed precisely because the Albanian Alternative is spreading what he called lies about the situation in Kosovo throughout the rest of the country and abroad. According to Kapetanovic, the Kosovo Alternative is in no sense democratic, even though it talks of nothing but democracy. It has called for a refusal of positive measures, for what he called orgies, and for noisy protests, and is against the return of Serbs and Montenegrins. I am in favor of democracy, Kapetanovic said, but I am also in favor of sanctions when democracy is outraged. In Kosovo, infants have been exhumed from their graves, everybody who is not Albanian is beaten and manhandled, and savage forces have demanded people's identity cards in the streets. The Kosovo Alternative is cunningly exploiting democracy for separatist and nationalist purposes in order to create Greater Albania. The Alternative is ethnically pure and is attempting to discredit the official authorities and contesting the number of dead

and injured so that the culprits start leveling accusations. He said that he was sorry about the number killed, but that it must be said that the militia replied with perhaps one bullet for every 100 used against them by the Albanian terrorists. The state must defend itself and the militia must remain in Kosovo, even though they are a drain on Serbia, particularly economically. It must be made clear to the separatists that Kosovo is and will remain Serbia and will be defended by all possible means, just as Britain defended the Falkland Islands even though they are thousands of miles away.

Dr. Hivzi Islami from the Kosovo Peasants' Party said that the Kosovo Alternative asked for dialogue long ago, but this request was not well received because it seems that prolonging the state of emergency suits those in power and because it is inconvenient to only one side. It is not possible to solve the problem of Kosovo merely by reconsidering policy hitherto, which has precipitated and is only perpetuating the crisis. Up till now, all resolutions, decisions, and standpoints on Kosovo have been introduced by Serbia and enforced by Yugoslavia. From 1945 to the present day, Yugoslavia has never tried to settle the Kosovo problem, but has merely considered it a Serbian issue. After 1981, the Serbian leadership used two ploys in its propaganda machinery. The first was that the Albanians or separatists, whom they consider to be one and the same, are undermining Yugoslavia's integrity, and the second was that the Albanian nationalists have a premeditated and treacherous policy of expelling Serbs from Kosovo, an idea they used to win over the public. It is well known that neither of these charges withstands examination. Hivzi Islami cited statistical data totally refuting the assertions that 400,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Kosovo and that 300,000 immigrants have arrived from Albania. Following the constitutional amendments, Kosovo has been transformed into a mere commune of Serbia, only distinguishable by the large number of militiamen and soldiers stationed there.

Srdjan Dvornik from the UJDI [Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative] Zagreb branch said that no social order based on civil and human rights and freedoms has ever existed in Yugoslavia. Otherwise, there would be no talk about the need to introduce democracy. Dvornik spoke about the two opposing viewpoints on Kosovo. According to the first, the question of the Albanians in Yugoslavia has never been properly solved. According to the second, an exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins is taking place, which means that the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins has never been satisfactorily settled. We must somehow put these two viewpoints into context, and this means seeking civil and individual rather than collective rights.

Alia Hodzic also talked about individual and collective rights, and spoke about the primary need for individual rights, which imply the right to citizens' free association and assembly. Halil Matoshi from the Kosovo Youth Parliament talked about the segregation now being

enforced in Kosovo institutions and the separate students' accommodation, schools, and catering for Serbs and Montenegrins. Such policies can never lead to a stable situation in Kosovo, he concluded.

Veton Surroi from the UJDI Pristina Branch advocated reaching agreement on the scope and purpose of the dialogue, who is to take part in it, and at what level it is to be conducted. All sociopolitical organizations in Kosovo are now in the process of dissolution, a process that will later take place in the rest of Yugoslavia. In the course of this process, alternative movements will be created and will emerge on the political stage. It would be deplorable if the League of Communists were to become the representative of the Serbian national program, while the Alternative became the representatives of the Albanians. This would be extremely counterproductive, he concluded.

Dr. Fehmi Agani from the Kosovo Democratic Alliance talked about the results of present policies in Kosovo, which have been the opposite of what was promised, and then spoke about the bloodshed, which has been proportionately greater than in Romania. He said that the Kosovo knot can be untied, because the Albanian question is not a question of secession or separatism, and in essence concerns the equality of everybody. The Albanians also, like other peoples and nationalities, must also have their status and the inalienable right to participate with others in making all important decisions for the country and about relations within it. The Albanians' demands cannot be bandied about, but must be considered and studied because the Albanians pose no danger to the Serbs and Montenegrins and do not aim at changing the country's borders. They are making democratic demands like those being put forward everywhere in the world.

Gajo Sekulic from the UJDI Sarajevo branch said that the program being put forward here is a minimal one. There are no democratic institutions in Kosovo, and conditions must be secured for free elections involving everyone. If democracy does not succeed in Kosovo, he concluded, it is absolutely certain that it will not succeed anywhere else in Yugoslavia.

A discussion about the situation in Kosovo was also held in the Mostar Youth Hall and was attended by 1,000 people (entrance tickets cost 1,000 dinars), of whom a large number remained standing because of lack of space. The organizer explained that technical reasons only permitted speeches from one representative of the Pristina UJDI, one from the Kosovo Social Democratic Party, and two from the Council of Truth. The two-hour discussion covered a multitude of issues, testifying to the great interest of the people of Mostar in the course of events in Kosovo. Among the many questions, let us mention that of how the statement approved at this gathering differed from official documents on Kosovo. Nebojsa Popov stressed that the difference is a radical one because the statement calls for freedom, democracy, and equality for all, while official state bodies refuse to

admit any partners in solving the Kosovo issue. Veton Surroi and Shkelzen Maliqi were asked specifically if they are in favor of a republic for Kosovo. Maliqi said that he is not, just as he is not in favor of Serbia in its present form or the position of Kosovo within it. Veton Surroi also replied negatively, and said that he is not in favor of any national state within Yugoslavia, and therefore not in favor of an Albanian state. Rastko Mocnik, asked how far the Slovene leadership is to blame for the situation in Kosovo, replied that if blame is to be sought in Slovenia, it is not a matter of the leadership, but of compiling an entire telephone directory listing the Slovenes who advocate a democratic solution for the Kosovo problem. Shkelzen Maliqi, asked whether any other nationality in the world has its own university, replied that there are no "nationalities" anywhere else in the world. Veton Surroi, asked what rights Serbs and Montenegrins enjoy more than Albanians, replied that more than 70 Albanians in recent months had been deprived of the right to live. Shkelzen Maliqi, asked about the connections between events in Kosovo and Islamic fundamentalism, replied that there is no such connection of any kind, because no demand of the Albanians so far has anything to do with Islam.

Commentary Reviews Position of LCY

AU0803073590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
2 Mar 90 p 6

[Vojko Flegar commentary: "Dictatorship of Anarchy"]

[Text] Do you know that the 31st session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] should have been held today? To tell you frankly, even the journalists have almost forgotten about it, although we live from "writing reports although the theater where the show should be held has burned down." By a coincidence that is symptomatic, of all the Yugoslav newspapers only Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE remembered on 1 March to ask the LCY Central Committee Information Service what happened about the session convened for 1 March. It learned that it has been postponed indefinitely.

Nevertheless—bearing in mind the editor of the story who on that morning, once upon a time, bawled out the tyro journalist who did not bring a report on the show as he heard on the phone that the show was canceled because the theater was burning ("and you did not ask me to report on the fire, Sir")—let us say a few marginal words on the postponed plenum of the organization that has not been with us for more than a month. And let us do so despite all the objections that the subject is "inappropriate" or "insignificant."

Although it seems unbelievable, it is nevertheless true that reports are coming from some places in Yugoslavia every day to the effect that "demands have been voiced that the LCY Congress should be resumed." Some people consider a resumption necessary because they have their own plans for the congress and with "the only Yugoslav political organization," and others, because try

as they may, they cannot think of the state without a unified LCY, and yet others, because after the break they face their members and voters without their own ("reserve") program options.

It is somewhat curious that the "well-intentioned" and the "lost" people do not understand that the last bits of their legitimacy are crumbling away with their cooperation in Presidium decisions against the Statute, convening sessions that, as is obvious in advance, cannot be held, simulating the role of a important political factor, and all the rest that the "schemers" think up; but they will have to face this themselves sooner or later.

It is not very surprising but it is amusing in a way that the Macedonian Communists were the first to start. After the fall congress at which they were elected, the leaders of the Macedonian Communists, surrounded and pressed from all sides, presented an interesting mixture of their own ideas and pragmatism, which has very little in common with the policy of the former leadership. This fact may be amusing because it cannot be ruled out that the recall of Milan Pancevski, president of what remains of the LCY, may soon come up. His political views have no longer anything in common with the views of the "grass roots," and to maintain an apparent legitimacy could do more harm to Petar Gosev's reformers on their home ground than the attendance at the Presidium sessions itself. Pancevski is one of the few surviving figures of the old Macedonian power, which the Macedonians openly dislike.

On the other hand, Durakovic's Communists still bring up "peace initiatives" (and will most probably continue to do so for some time), which they justify above all with their fear that the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina may split along its national seams, following the logic that without a united LCY there can be no united organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina Communists. The fear is not completely unjustified, because the differences between the Sarajevo and the Banja Luka party centers have been intensifying, and the chief reproach of the latter is that the former is pushing with its program too far to the "northwest."

The statement by the Committee of the League of Communists Organization in the Organs and Organizations of the Federation again ignores facts in its own way. This is not only because it demands that people who are not under its "jurisdiction" be somehow called to account, but above all because this is a committee that even under the decision of the former LCY Central Committee should have ceased to exist a long time ago. The separation of the party and the state does not mean merely that the premier and the president of the party cannot be one and the same person, but also that an official in a professional administrative apparatus that prepares reports for the state organs and executes their orders must not act as a Communist when on duty. The role of the "10th party organization" of the LCY and the "second Yugoslav organization" (the first being that of

the Army), which this committee wants to play, is therefore particularly anachronistic.

Finally, of course discounting all those who simply did not recognize the discontinuation of the congress, the advocates of a continuation include the Communists in uniform. Their moves are, in fact, least understandable, because they are cutting off their nose to spite their face while mouthing cliches about the care for prestige, Tito's road, traditions, and so forth. Nobody spoiled the so-called prestige and traditions of the Yugoslav Communists more than the president of the Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army, who incidentally amputated a Communist organization of a republic and called for the formation of a new one in the territory of that republic. The admiral who invokes Tito to such an extent should know that the greatest son of our peoples did not like soldiers who interfered excessively in his work, and that it would be in keeping with "the revolutionary traditions" if he retired after he had said that.

In the long run, we are all dead, of course, and in the long run playing such games with the LCY will bury those who indulge in it. This is their problem, but on the other hand the Yugoslav Communists may now clash directly only in the federal Assembly, in the government, and in the Presidency, in a wild non-institutionalized game that suits only themselves. It sounds grotesque to issue warnings that the Communists must not burden the state institutions with their quarrels. It is true that Yugoslavia can exist without a Communist organization, but this does not say anything about its content. Another contribution for the treasure house of original ideas would be too much; we do not need a dictatorship of anarchy.

LCY Central Committee Statement on Session

*LD0603230190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1747 GMT 6 Mar 90*

[Text] Belgrade, Mar [no date as received] (TANJUG)—During its session [date not specified] that was chaired by Milan Pancevski, the League of Communist of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium was briefed on the discussions and stands of the organs of the League of Communists [LC] of the republics and provinces and of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] on the Presidium documentation on the outstanding issues and proposals, in connection with the adjournment and further work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

As is stressed in the statement issued to the public, the session agreed that in light of the discussion and of the observations and proposals that had been submitted, the work relating to preparations for a LCY Central Committee session on these issues is to continue. The session will be held on 22 March.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also discussed current events on the Yugoslav political scene, the statement goes on to say. The assessment was made that the process of democratization of our society and of our

political life, reflected in the formation of political parties, is also accompanied by pronounced nationalistic, revenge-seeking, and separatist activity and organization on this basis. This poses a serious threat to the incipient democratic transformation of our society, to our socialist system, and to the stability of the country that gives rise to a great deal of unrest and concern on the part of our citizens. The LCY is clearly and in a principled way committed to the development of a socialist democratic society and also to deep-seated reforms, equality of all our nations and nationalities, and to the building of our federal community on this basis.

The Presidium notes that recently Communists, war veterans, and the working people throughout our country rightly and vigorously reacted to the forces of the past and hatred that are running amok and that would like to rehabilitate and foist on us the typically Ustasha and Chetnik programs and methods, and even quisling state creations, reshape the republican borders, challenge the identity of some of our peoples, and establish allegedly pure national states coupled with fratricide, revenge-seeking, and retribution.

The LC has clearly and unequivocally opted for political pluralism, which implies a multiparty system and competition of ideas and programs. However, this must be in the function of dissemination of democratic rights and freedoms of man, of further democratization of political life without any monopoly, in the function of the overall rise in the quality of life, both material and intellectual. However, political pluralism cannot be a guise for totalitarianism and chauvinism. For this reason, the Communists must employ all political means to contest all nationalistic and separatist programs and ideologies, and it is the duty of a law-governed state to do its duty in cases when the law is violated, the statement issued from the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium says.

Croatian Presidency on Petrova Gora Meeting

*LD0803000290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1844 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Zagreb, March 7 (TANJUG)—The State Presidency of Yugoslavia's republic of Croatia condemned today the "behaviour of certain groups of Serbian nationalists" who took part on March 4 in a meeting in Petrova Gora where 50,000 people voiced bitterness over the revival of nationalist passions in the country.

The organizing committee of the meeting in Petrova Gora, locality near Karlovac in Croatia, dissociated itself today from what it said was a small group of a few dozens of extremely militant nationalist-oriented participants in the meeting.

The Presidency of Croatia warns that, because of extremist groups in Petrova Gora, what must be examined in the future are all intentions to hold the one-nation meeting in any place in Croatia. The organizing

committee asserts that the Petrova Gora meeting was not a one-nation rally although predominantly Serbs were participating.

The Presidency of Croatia assessed that most participants in the meeting voiced true concern of the people over the onslaughts of nationalist forces in Yugoslavia and Croatia.

"An organized arrival of militant meeting participants from the Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina" which are parts of the republic of Serbia, in the view of the Presidency of Croatia, "once again uncovered the anti-Croatian and anti-Yugoslav character of the policy that fails to condemn nationalism in its own environment."

The Presidency of Croatia maintains that it was "a dubious circumstance" that, under the conditions of special measures in Kosovo, what is tolerated in this province is the forming of groups that had arrived in Petrova Gora "intended to upset peace and order in Croatia."

Croatian LC on Rally

AU0703140590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
4 Mar 90 p 3

["Statement" by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia on the rally in Petrova Gora; issued in Zagreb on 3 March: "Nobody Is Exempt From Responsibility"]

[Text] Proceeding from the principled stand that the citizens have the right to express their views and tenets through gatherings and other direct methods, the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia stresses, however, that certain gatherings, meetings, and demonstrations on nationalist bases have shown themselves to be extremely damaging for interethnic and general economic and political relations. The LC of Croatia resolutely opposes all policies that use national gatherings and meetings to carry out their hegemonic and separatist aims.

The way the meeting on Petrova Gora was announced and prepared, the nationalistic behavior of some individuals and groups in the preparations of the meeting, the announcement of an en masse arrival by the already known nationalists from outside our republic, and the media and propaganda support to this gathering all suggest an attempt to turn this gathering into the means of interethnic discord, the means of spreading Serbian nationalism and political destabilization of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The initiators, the real organizers, as well as all other participants in the meeting on Petrova Gora, must be aware of this. Nobody can be exempt from the responsibility for the consequences of the meeting that is being organized, because democratic processes and the freedoms and rights of the citizens cannot be used to threaten the freedoms and rights of others, to disturb

public peace and order, and to attack the constitutional system and sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the SFRY.

The Central Committee of the LC of Croatia expresses the conviction that the great majority of the participants will consider their own responsibility for the political situation and the danger of interethnic rifts. We are aware of the fact that nationalisms feed one another and that the negative consequences of this meeting are enhancing Croatian nationalism. All those who care for joint life in Croatia and Yugoslavia should bear this in mind.

Croatian Elections Committee Appointed

LD0703145290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 7 March (TANJUG)—The Sociopolitical Chamber of the Croat Assembly has appointed a republican committee to supervise the elections. The committee will supervise both the electoral campaign and the elections to ensure that those taking part in the first multiparty assembly elections in Croatia respect the agreed rules of the game.

In addition to Croat Constitutional Court President Jadranko Crnic, who is the president of the republican committee ex officio, the following have been nominated to be members: Alica Bauman, Cedo Grbic, Mario Kos, Andre Mohorovicic, Vlatko Pavletic, and Eugen Pusic. They are all honorable and respected people of authority, and are also people of great skill and ability, said Crnic. He added that committee members were not members of the leadership of any party. Complaints have already been received by the committee, he said, because of unacceptable conduct and statements by individuals and parties. The committee will certainly be very busy.

The Croat Assembly also decided to pay a 3,000 dinar one-time compensation to representatives who will be elected to the new republican assembly.

Croat Democratic Community Election Program

LD0703095590

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1605 GMT on 6 March in its "Election '90" slot carries a 12-minute program on the Croat Democratic Community. Party Deputy Chairman Vladimir (?Seh) and Central Committee member Dr. Zarko (?Damjan) represent the party in the studio. Their voices are not separately identifiable when responses are given.

The Zagreb radio announcer says, "The party's election slogan is 'Our name is our program.' What does this mean and what is the attraction of the Croat Democratic Community's program?" One of the party representatives answers that "The election slogan of the Croat Democratic Community wants to precisely and clearly convey that the Croat Democratic Community program

is based on three constants: Croatia, Democratic Croatia, and Croatia as a community of all its citizens."

Later in the program, a party representative says, "As a transitional solution, it is necessary to establish confederation in Yugoslavia, although there are neither pure confederations nor pure federations in the world. We conceive confederation as guaranteeing to the maximum degree republican sovereignty, in this instance, Croatian sovereignty. Then, granted that other republics and other states are manifestations of sovereign will of all their citizens, we could agree in an honest way about whether or not we can live together, and if yes, how." The Zagreb Radio announcer asks, "Please tell me, to what extent does the confederal principle raise the issue of borders of some Yugoslav states, and what are its further implications?" To which the party representative responds, "Neither according to the theory of constitutional law nor according to practice does the confederal principle bring into question internal borders of member states." His party colleague continues, "I would just like to add that I agree on this point, but that the principle does not also threaten external borders."

Next the Zagreb Radio announcer notes, "The issue of intranational relations is one of the important issues. How do you view it?" "Our view on intranational relations stem from our views on basic rights, which the Croat Democratic Community champions: individual and national rights. Regarding individual rights, the Croat Democratic Community champions all rights to be found in the UN Human Rights Declaration from 1948—which we, shamefully, have not signed yet," a party representative notes. He continues, "This means, the right to free expression of one's views, personal safety, the right to association on the basis of political programs, and the right to fight for the realization of those programs. From the individual rights stem rights of nations because a nation on a wider international scene is like individual within a narrower community. Therefore, all rights pertaining to individuals, also belong to nations too." At this point, reception of the program deteriorates for approximately five minutes.

One of the party representatives explains what forms of ownership the party promotes: private ownership, although they will not abolish other forms of ownership. The other representative explains party policy on road construction: linking North Croatia with South Croatia is a priority. He explains party policy on agriculture and status of farmers: abolition of the upper limit on small holdings and equal status for farmers.

The party's views on the advocacy of the deideologization and depolitization of education are expressed as are the party's views on the rights of unborn children. It is noted that the party does not favor a ban on abortion but will work to minimize the number of abortions allowed. The program concludes with one of the party representatives saying the Croat Democratic Community advocates that Croats who emigrated from Yugoslavia should return and assist the recovery of Croatia. It

is noted that the Croat Democratic Community will stand alone in the first round of elections.

Croat Paper Questions 'Sense' of Vlasi's Trial

AU0803093390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
1 Mar 90 p 1

[Zoran Daskalovic commentary: "The Trial"]

[Text] It is becoming increasingly difficult to comprehend the sense of the trial of Azem Vlasi and 14 others in Titova Mitrovica. The workers are freely holding strikes throughout the country, the newly emerging parties are convening their founding assemblies at which they are publicly presenting their stands, freely criticizing the Communist Party for the general social crisis, and offering to the public and the electorate the political programs of completely different origin to the one that currently exists. Meanwhile, the people in Titova Mitrovica are persistently trying to prove to the accused that they had organized the strike of Stari Trg miners, through which the miners demanded that one party leadership not tender its resignation under pressure, and that the other, the imposed one, to resign. Judging by everything that has been heard during the trial so far, the evidence is based on the facts that, under the present social circumstances and in view of everything that is openly happening on the Yugoslav public scene, sound frivolous to say the least.

Azem Vlasi is accused of making a now apparently overt visit to the miners, of either jokingly or seriously suggesting while watching a television report about turbulent events in Kosovo that the situation be calmed down by returning him and Kacusa Jasari to the top posts, of saying that he will go down the pit and persuade the miners to stop the strike provided that Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija tender their resignations, and so forth. As regards the others, the prosecution is trying to base the evidence against them on their activities as members of the Trepca Committee for All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, especially as the charge claims and wants to prove that this committee in fact acted as the "strikers' headquarters."

All this would be funny if these 15 accused people had not already spent one year in what must be one of the worst prisons in Europe. So, in addition to the psychological pressure to which they have been exposed for some time, they have been exposed to the freezing conditions of prison cells, the consequences of which they will feel for the rest of their lives. Therefore, disregarding the influence of the trial on the general situation in Kosovo, this human suffering alone is a sufficient reason to drop this evidently politically fabricated accusation and free the accused.

On the other hand, some may be right to think that the defense is trying to find a painless way out from everything that was cooked up by those who initiated and organized the trial by prolonging the trial through the marathon questioning of the witnesses. It is assumed that

the conditions for this will be attained when the present proposals for the abolition of the legal provisions that constituted the basis for filing the charges are adopted in the SFRY Assembly. The only question is how high a price has already been paid for the "honorable" getaway of those who dirtied their hands through this trial.

Tudjman's Independence Efforts Criticized

AU0703162590 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 90 p 5

[Milorad Vucelic commentary: "The Spirit of the Independent State of Croatia]

[Text] What we can see happening before our eyes is something we thought belonged irretrievably to the documents and reports on a mindless past symbolized by the Independent State of Croatia.

What we are talking about is the first general assembly of the Croat Democratic Community (HDZ), which was attended by 2,000 delegates and held in Zagreb's Vatroslav Lisinski Hall. The founder and leader of this "first nonsocialist and noncommunist party" is, as is known, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, a former partisan general who was in charge of "cadres" in the personnel administration of the Yugoslav People's Army. Then he became director of the Workers' Movement Institute, a man on whose behalf, as he himself said, "Tito and Kardelj interceded saying—leave Tudjman in peace, he is the only one to offer resistance to Belgrade hegemonism and unitarianism...." He was one of the Croatian mass movement leaders. The movement was later renamed "Croatian Spring."

In his introductory speech at this assembly, Tudjman made it clear that statements about the Croatian state not having been created in 1945 but in 1941 are not incidental and that the Ustasha Independent State of Croatia in fact represented the continuation of the realization of the Croatian historical right to statehood. Tudjman says that those who see in the HDZ only the advocating of the renewal of the Independent State of Croatia "are forgetting that the Independent State of Croatia was not a mere 'quisling' fabrication and a 'fascist crime,' but it was an expression of the historical strivings of the Croatian people for an independent state, and it also gained recognition on the part of international factors, in this case the government of Hitler's Germany. Therefore, the Independent State of Croatia did not represent the mere whim of the Axis Powers, but was a consequence of definite historical factors. Today, in the times of Great Serbian hegemonism, one should speak on behalf of the Croatian people and say that Bosnia-Herzegovina is also the national state of the Croatian people according to the present Constitution, too."

As one could see, hear, and read, these words of Tudjman's were "greeted with stormy applause and standing ovations by the people in the hall."

If one adds to this, as it is called, "most Croat and most democratic political program" a statement Tudjman made to NEDJELJNI VJESNIK (which is a mere repetition of what he had already told the Sarajevo youth newspaper NASI DANI), in which he said that "Muslims are a constituent part of the Croatian national corpus" and that the "Croatian people cannot be confined within the borders of the present Socialist Republic of Croatia, because there is also the problem of the historical and natural borders of Croatia," and when the problem of confederalization, internal interstate borders, and possible secession from Yugoslavia are seen in this light, then this vision of rearranging Yugoslavia becomes fully clear. It is by no means accidental that the HDZ emissaries have recently been planning to extend their activities to Srem.

The HDZ and its leader do not think that the realization of the Croatian historical right to statehood was discontinued with the fall of Ustashes and the Independent State of Croatia. A significant role in maintaining this continuity was played by the partisans, AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], and ZAVNOH [Regional Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia].

"Through the decisions of ZAVNOH," Tudjman says, "the Croatian people found themselves on the side of the victorious powers at the end of the war, and that fact was of far-reaching importance. Had it not been for the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the fate of the Croatian people would have been incomparably more difficult. Had they not been on the side of the winners too, after the fall of the Independent State of Croatia, the Croatian people would not have been able to avoid the Chetnik genocide plan with possibly catastrophic consequences."

Apart from the fact that Croat Communists and partisans enabled the Croatian people to be "on the side of the winners, too," and not only on the side of Germany and the Axis Powers, Tudjman considers it praiseworthy and a "historical merit of the Croatian Communists and partisans that Istra was finally included in Croatia and Rijeka, Zadar, Cres, Losinj, and Lastovo given back to it."

The vertical line along which the positive achievements of both Ustashes and Communists, of the Independent State of Croatia, and the ZAVNOH are intertwined, and to which Tudjman's very biography convincingly bears witness, is the HDZ's program axis—"that vertical line going from Starcevic via Radic to the Croatian leftists" that has been "pronounced in a language that the Croatian man has felt and carried in his mind!"

Krleža's story about "three truckloads of Ustashes" who created the Independent State of Croatia is obviously unfounded. That creation obviously appears in a new light now. We can only imagine what it used to look like when interpreted by somebody who was not a partisan general, when it looks like this when seen by one.

It has seemed for years that the "so-called Independent State of Croatia," as it was then called, was in fact invented by Serbian hegemonists and propagandists and that it and all its "results" are mere fiction. It was just its joining an imaginary Tripartite Pact anew today that has made us see its real face and historical essence again. It is obvious that the advocates and champions of this political program and platform do not consider that World War II has ended yet and that those who missed the opportunity to participate in the last war are now being recruited to put on the uniforms that the civilized world considers to be mere theater and film costumes.

However, the Independent State of Croatia seems to remain in the realm of fiction only when Ustasha genocide against the Serbian people, Jews, and Romanies is concerned. It is here that all responsibility for realizing "historical intentions" and the "recognition of international factors" stops. According to this historical-political reinterpretation of history and its complete reevaluation, the Holocaust and Jasenovac are fabrications and lies and they even represented a healthy foundation for a "civilized life."

It should be completely clear that the attempt to conceal one's own responsibility for genocide goes together with the accusations of "Serbian expansionism" and "Serbian fascism." This is done by the very people who, until this day have never, honestly and critically faced up to their own Nazism, fascism, and genocide, as well as many other monstrosities and historical deviations that are obviously considered to be absolutely legitimate when it is a case of realizing "national interests" and maintaining the "continuity of realization of Croatian historical right to statehood." Such a historical and political orientation may mainly use democratic means in the current European and world situation and context, but if circumstances change, what happened 50 years ago will happen again. One would then be able to reexamine the promise to the Serbs in Croatia given at this general assembly—that there will be no revanchism! (Of course, one would have to ask what it is that Serbs are responsible for or guilty of that would merit revenge—apart from the fact that they are Serbs). Finally, it is well known that every political party nearly always has both declared aims and undeclared aims, so one should openly ask what the undeclared and hidden aims may be when it is openly said that "he who lives by the sword will die by the sword"!

In any case, it is a very good thing that we are facing all these facts, historical phenomena, and currents now, during peace time and in a democratic world context. It is good that freedom and democracy has made it possible for everybody to say what they mean and what they are calling for. The remedy for such political orientations and platforms are not bans, old and proven ideological lies, or a new historical self-deception. What used to be hidden by forced symmetries has come to light. Truth is obviously impossible to hide, and we will finally be forced to tell it so it will be accessible both to us and the world around us.

A historical and political course for this country that already exists and that essentially changes and corrects the entire official ideological and organizational scheme in Yugoslavia was orally proclaimed at the HDZ assembly. It is a very good thing that democratic forces and the forces of truth are becoming aware of themselves without any ideological schemes and lies. Hence there is not much reason for panic or irrational reaction on the part of those who have been and are still threatened by these ominous political and historical phenomena. Our affairs are no longer in the hands of those who are working backward and forward on forcefully evening out and equalizing the world's better and worse halves, the fascist and democratic forces and the Allies and Axis Powers.

We must acknowledge and correctly assess what was happening at the HDZ assembly in order to know what is to be done, but we should certainly do so without passion and without submitting to pressure. In any case, one of the great mistakes made in conducting the affairs of the Serbian people in the past is being corrected at the moment, and that mistake is, to quote one of our great writers, "slowness in observing obvious situations."

It was justifiably said that Tudjman's statement and the HDZ assembly will "essentially change the political identity of Croatia and therefore Yugoslavia, too, in the time to come." The decisive word on the kind and extent of the change to "the political identity of Croatia" will be spoken by the voters in that republic, because above all it is they that will have to face the consequences and responsibilities if this political group wins the elections.

Reform of Bosnia-Herzegovina Socialist Alliance

*LD0703144390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—A constituent assembly of a new reformed organization of the Socialist Alliance will be held in June, Mirko Pejanovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], said today at a news conference in Sarajevo. He and Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP Secretary Ismet Grba informed journalists about activities to be carried out over the next three months to transform this socio-political organization into a political party.

Next week a public debate on the transformation of the Socialist Alliance will open in local communities and municipalities throughout this republic. In the meantime, a number of working bodies will be set up with the task of formulating program goals of the new political organization, drawing up its statute, and organizing political marketing.

Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Losing Members

LD1502063390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—Since the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] extraordinary congress, the Bosnia-Herzegovina League of Communists [LC] has lost 750 members, according to the records of the Central Committee information service. This was announced today by Abil Kulenovic, head of the service, who also claimed that membership in the republic was not dwindling.

The details on the number of party membership cards returned and LC organizations disbanded are not complete; however, reports have still not been received from all municipal committees.

New Paper Launched in Bosnia-Herzegovina

LD2302165790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—A new weekly called "NEDELJA" ["A Week"], published by the "OSLOBODJENJE" newspaper and publishing enterprise, can be bought beginning to today from newspaper stands in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the entire country. The weekly was promoted last night in the Red Gallery in Sarajevo. [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

Army Paper Views 'Extreme Right' Parties

AU0703221890 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 90 p 17

[Lj. Stojadinovic commentary: "Anti-Communism as an Emblem"]

[Text] There has already been discussion about the ideological cover of the new party "programs of the future." For many leaders, aggressive anticommunism in itself is sufficient reason for the existence of a party. A program is not even necessary; only the past matters. "Historical arguments" against socialism—not just in its concrete form but as an idea—are pulled out of the past like a petrified rabbit out of a hat. The petrified rabbit quickly becomes a crazy, schizophrenic denouncer of every aspect of the history of the last 40 years.

Draskovic, as a former Communist devotee, in the company of the tragicomic forms of bearded supporters and phantom bodyguards, has called for revenge. This is against anyone, as he says, who has at any time done any harm to Serbs—and even against Communists—regardless of what they are.

At the end of last week, in the "Lisinski" hall, ex-Communist Franjo Tudjman finally began his public revival of the Independent State of Croatia, restoring some dark history to its followers who expect to win at the elections. By defending the Ustasha state that was founded on the mace, pit, hammer, and rope, Tudjman

does not conceal his confidence in electoral triumph but he also calls on all other political forces to join the same side to the same end.

Communism is, of course, on the other side. Yugoslavia does not exist in this respect.

Dimitrije Rupel is sure that the federal variant of the country's unity is a tragic mistake. He was applauded while he himself, as a distinguished guest, applauded Tudjman.

We are left to ask ourselves: Does the verbal anticommunist experiment precede real aggression from Vuk's neo-Chetniks or the euphoric founders of a modern Independent State of Croatia? What would they do with themselves and others after a possible electoral win and how would one explain resurrected McCarthyism clothed in the rags of familiar mantles and explained with the vocabulary of the sinister Balkan and "middle-European" right?

The French have successfully (democratically) isolated the pro-fascist inspired Le Pen. His aggressive anticommunism in a country with a democratic tradition not only seems ominous but also primitive.

In its clumsy intentions to join Europe, the resurrected and somewhat made-up extreme right in our country offers itself to Europe in a form that has already been rejected there. Why do we calmly observe the costumed tragic actors like Draskovic, Tudjman, and Rupel? Silence and sometimes benevolent support, along with a democratic illusion that is most often tragic, also lead to a blockade of those changes on which the future depends.

Let us not wait for Tudjman to determine this for us. It is natural and normal for a democratic society to send the Tudjmans of this world back to the past, which is where they belong.

Macedonian Elections Postponed 1 Year

AU0603150290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
5 Mar 90 p 7

[Nenad Batkoski report: "One-House and Two-House Parliaments"]

[Excerpt] In Macedonia, after numerous discussions and dilemmas, even after the announcements that the scheduled elections may be boycotted, the 22 February session of the Assembly of Macedonia postponed the elections and extended for a further year, at the most, the mandate to the delegates and of the assembly of the republic, Skopje, and communes until the new elections. This means that the postponed elections must be held by 28 April of next year at the latest.

The initiative for postponing the elections was launched by the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee Presidium. A similar request was also made by the leadership of the republican youth organization and representatives of the political parties that have been

or are being founded. In their talk with Assembly President Dr. Vulnet Starova, they demanded the postponement of elections and the provision of equal conditions in the election campaign. The Presidium of the Republican Federation of Trade Unions of Macedonia and the Presidium of the Veterans' Organization were decidedly against the postponement of elections and interruption in the incipient preelection activities. [passage omitted]

Pristina Serbo-Croat Broadcasts Resume

LD0203223890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Pristina radio programs in Serbo-Croat started again today after a firm promise by Serbian Assembly President Zoran Sokolovic and other top-ranking officials in Serbia and Kosovo that the demands of its editorial board would be met. Ten journalists from other parts of Serbia are expected to arrive and help out their colleagues in Pristina.

TU Confederation Urges Serbian, Slovenian Ties

LD2501234590 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2318 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions on Thursday [25 January] appealed to the republics of Serbia and Slovenia to re-establish economic relations, broken early last December.

The break was initiated by Serbia following the ban on a rally in the Slovenian capital Ljubljana at which Serbs and Montenegrins from the province of Kosovo (within the Republic of Serbia) intended to inform Slovenians of the sufferings to which they were exposed by ethnic Albanian separatists.

According to the trade union leadership, the break in economic relations between Serbia, the biggest, and Slovenia, the most developed Yugoslav republic, has additionally aggravated the otherwise bad social and material position of workers, not only in both republics, but in the whole federation.

As a consequence of the break, production and earnings have dropped, and unemployment and adverse effects of economic activity have risen, which has led to a reduction in funds for financing the federation.

According to data revealed today, 229 enterprises from Serbia have broken contracts with 207 enterprises from Slovenia. The result of the break is a reduction in Slovenia's participation in Yugoslavia's social product from 19 to 14.3 percent and a drop in Slovenia's social product by 1.5 percent. Experts assess that if the blockade continues, Slovenia's social product could fall by as much as five percent.

Survey Shows Party Loss of Credibility

AU2501204090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
19 Jan 90 p 7

[O. Ramljak report reprinted from SLOBODNA DALMACIJA; date not given: "A Worried Yugoslav"; all figures as published]

[Text] The average Yugoslav, particularly from Kosovo, is extremely concerned about the political situation in the country. With a critical rejection of the activities of the League of Communists, 27.5 percent of the adult population believes in positive changes in the present situation after the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], while almost a half of Yugoslavs assess the activities of the vanguard workers class as bad or do not notice its work at all. However, despite this, 30.3 percent see the future in the multiparty system but 36.3 percent are inclined toward the existing single-party system, while 33.5 percent still do not know what kind of future system they would decide upon. These are the main figures from the survey that was carried out by the Zagreb Market Research Center which has been doing surveys for 25 years and analyzing public opinion including opinion concerning politics.

However, the survey would have to be supplemented in order to achieve a realistic picture of current public opinion concerning the political situation. As was stressed at today's meeting in the market research center, the survey was done 3 months ago when the idea of a multiparty system was at the embryonic stage and the federal government's latest program for the country's economic consolidation had not yet been adopted.

As well as the average citizen's concern for the political situation in the country and the LCY's loss of credibility, the existing figures also show uncertainty as regards the future political structure desired by the people. For example, of those responding only 1.7 percent were not concerned about the political reality of Yugoslavia and 75.1 percent were very worried about it. Those most worried were in Kosovo and the least in Macedonia, but even there 65.4 percent of respondents were worried about the situation. The analysis shows a high degree of correlation between a person's level of education and knowledge and their concern. Just as there are no unconcerned territorial units, there are not many unconcerned people categorized by social, educational, external, property, and other characteristics. Smaller differences in percentages show that the more worried people are better educated, wealthier, older, male, and not agricultural workers.

The results of the survey that asked for an assessment of the LCY's activities show that only 2.1 percent of the adult population assesses the party's work as very successful but as much as 71.7 percent think that it works in an average or bad way, while 11.3 percent are not even aware of it and 14.8 percent were undecided and did not have an answer. Attention should be paid to the fact that

everyone was more critical toward "someone else's backyard" than toward their own community. Twenty-five percent of respondents said they did not notice the work of the League of Communists when talking about their own community but 43 percent gave this assessment of the work of Communists in the whole country, while 18 percent gave no answer when talking about their own community and 15 percent gave no answer in assessing all of Yugoslavia. The answer of "not noticeable" for their "own" League of Communists was most often given by respondents in Croatia: 33.2 percent of the respondents. Respondents in Kosovo were most critical about the LCY's activities because 56 percent assessed its work as bad. Inhabitants of bigger towns, employed people, the better educated, men, wealthier people, and 47 percent of Communists were more critical toward the League of Communists.

Not much is expected of the forthcoming 14th LCY Congress either because only a little more than a quarter of the population believe in the positive changes that the 14th LCY Congress will initiate. The most optimistic respondents were in Montenegro where 39.5 percent of respondents believe in positive changes, while the most skeptical were in Slovenia where only 10.3 percent thought that the congress would have positive effects. In Croatia, 22.2 percent of respondents believe in positive results initiated by the congress, while 57.1 percent expected the present relations to be maintained, and 6 percent expected negative changes. As many as 14.5 percent of respondents in Croatia had no opinion.

SAWPY Official on Future of Organization

AU2401192690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
22 Jan 90 p 9

[Report on interview with Marjan Kotar, member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, by Eleonora Vecovska; place and date not given: "A Party Instead of a Front"]

[Excerpts] The Socialist Alliance will either disappear or become a party because it will not be able to survive in its present form in a multiparty system which is, after all, our future. The party will be a party of socialists, whatever its organization may be. As far as the federal level is concerned, there are two open possibilities: that the Socialist Alliance of Working People becomes the Alliance of Alliances of the Socialist Republics and Provinces, or, the Alliance of Socialists of Yugoslavia. In my view, the first option is more likely, because Yugoslavia will remain a federal country in which the republics and provinces will enjoy full equality.

This was stated by Marjan Kotar, member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, in his interview with BORBA.

Following the remark that when he mentioned federal Yugoslavia he "forgot" to say socialist federal Yugoslavia, Kotar said:

"I did not forget it; I omitted it deliberately. Whether the introduction of a multiparty system in the future renders the system in our country purely socialist, or whether it is transformed into some mixture of socialism with elements of capitalism will depend on the influence of the programs of all state-enhancing parties that will be present in the parliament."

[Vecovska] So, you already see the SFRY Assembly as a parliament.

[Kotar] Of course. There would be no sense in introducing a multiparty system without it. However, this should in no way annul the rights of the electorate at free elections. They will be rallied by the programs offered by various parties. [passage omitted]

[Vecovska] What are the socialists' chances at elections?

[Kotar] Provided that the Socialist Alliances transforms itself into an independent political party, we will immediately become a rival to the League of Communists. This does not, however, mean that during the presentation of programs in the parliament we will not form a coalition with the League of Communists or other parties in the so-called "left wing." I am convinced that the people in Yugoslavia want socialism—of course, not the kind of socialism that exists at present, but the socialism that exists in other parts of the world, particularly in the West Europe, where the tendency is toward socialist values: freedom, equality, justice, and solidarity.

Party Officials Rather Than Politicians

[Vecovska] If you already have a clear perception of the Socialist Alliance as an independent political party, do you also have a clear perception of its program?

[Kotar] The work on the program of the socialists in the Socialist Alliance is still in progress. However, in some republics (Slovenia and Croatia) not only have the parties of socialists been founded, but their programs have already been adopted. The Yugoslav program, on which the work is yet to be done, must above all establish its stands concerning the citizens, people, their freedoms, solidarity, a law-governed state, and family; it should adopt a clear attitude toward socialism which must be just, economically efficient, open to the world, a socialism which will guarantee equality to all people in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Vecovska] What about finances?

[Kotar] Everything is clear about finances. One part of the funds would come from the federal budget and would be determined according to the number of seats each party has in the parliament, because the parties that would be present in the parliament would be the so-called state-enhancing [državotvoran] parties and it would be in the state's interest to finance them. The

other part of the funds would come from the membership fees. Therefore, the current membership will have to choose between the League of Communists and the party of socialists. The citizens will therefore freely decide themselves whose membership they will pay. [passage omitted]

AYDI on Plans for Next Elections

*AU2301220790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
21 Jan 90 p 4*

[M. Lucic report: "Open Question on Participation in Elections"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The first assembly session of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] was held at the Faculty of Law in Sarajevo yesterday. During the adoption of the report on the work of its organs and the association's newspaper REPUBLIKA, Zarko Puhovski, president of the Executive Council of the AYDI, stressed that the association was the only Yugoslav non-regime association which has members all over the country. Puhovski said that the AYDI was not registered until last December and that it had been an illegal organization for some of its members. The association was registered in Titograd and therefore the Assembly proposed that the organization's headquarters be there. Otherwise, the association has more than 1,000 members and 16 branches. Zarko Puhovski spoke, among other things, about the question of whether the AYDI will take part in the elections, and said that, if it is to do so, the association will inevitably have to become a party.

The AYDI Assembly today adopted several amendments to the statute according to which the Council of the AYDI has been dropped and a new organ, the Program Commission of the Association, has been founded. Article 3 of the Statute, which states that membership in this association does not oppose membership in other organizations, has also been dropped. It was explained that the scrapping of this article represents deregulation and that individuals are left to decide for themselves which organization they want to join.

The AYDI Assembly adopted few more initiatives. They were addressed to the public and the federal assembly. For instance, the AYDI demands the abolition of the State Security Service as a political police, the public control of the State Security Service, and a ban of public speeches by state officials—people wearing uniforms. Two other demands were also adopted: first, that Yugoslav ethnicity be treated like other groups; and, second, that all those who were convicted through political trials in post-war Yugoslavia be pronounced not guilty. The AYDI Assembly also supported the suggestion for a meeting between an AYDI delegation and Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic to express support for his program and ask him to extend a clearer support for other parties' initiatives.

At its assembly in Sarajavo, the AYDI also adopted several more initiatives that were presented at the session. For instance, it is demanded that the financing of all organizations (the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Youth Organization) which are now being financed by the federal budget be stopped until a federal law on political association is adopted. Another initiative is to reduce the funds for military spending. The proposal that the television license fee be scrapped until the composition of the editorial board is made in the same way the federal assembly is, through democratic multiparty elections, was also supported.

Guesses About Coalitions

At yesterday's session of the AYDI, the officials also read a statement explaining, as stated, increasingly frequent speculations regarding various coalitions at elections. The statement says that the AYDI's statute does not envisage the AYDI's participation in the communal elections. All guesses on the AYDI's coalition with the old or newly founded organizations are either arbitrary guesses or an attempt to repudiate the non-party character of the AYDI. If the AYDI decides to take part in the elections it will inform the public, the statement points out.

Jaukovic Elected President of the Executive Council

The AYDI assembly elected Novak Jaukovic president of the Executive Council, Zarko Puhovski president of the Program Commission, and Milorad Pupovac chief and responsible editor of REPUBLIKA.

Markovic Receives Council of Europe Officials

*LD0503202190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 5 Mar 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic met in Belgrade today with Joao de Deus Pinheiro, minister of foreign affairs of the Portuguese Republic and the chairman of the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe, and Cathrine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe. Cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Council of Europe to date was assessed positively. It was noted that preconditions for Yugoslavia's admission to the Council of Europe as a full member are becoming increasingly more fulfilled. In connection with this, the FEC president stressed that it is in our interest that Yugoslavia join the Council of Europe as soon as possible. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, attended the talks.

Concern for Yugoslav Minority in Albania Voiced

*LD0203021190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2125 GMT 1 Mar 90*

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—The position of the Yugoslav minority in Albania is in the focus of all Yugoslav contacts with this country's representatives,

Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl said here Thursday commenting a statement by Montenegrin official bodies that the terror against the members of the Yugoslav minority in Albania has been going on for decades. [sentence as received]

The Yugoslav ambassador to Albania was instructed to, if possible, establish direct contacts with the members of this minority.

Zivojin Jazic, head of a Yugoslav delegation at a UN Human Rights Commission session held in Geneva this week, voiced concern over the violation of the freedoms and rights of the Yugoslav minority in Albania.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, at the same time, informed UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cueller on the rights and position of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia.

Demarche Presented to Belgian Foreign Ministry

LD0203021690 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2148 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels, March 1 (TANJUG) —The Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels on Thursday presented a demarche to the Belgian Foreign Ministry over an anti-Yugoslav campaign carried over the past few days by the Belgian media after the killing of head of the committee for the defence of human rights in Kosovo Enver Hadri here last week.

Dissatisfaction was especially expressed over the wide media publicity to the demonstrations, which Albanian political emigrants are preparing for March 3 outside the Yugoslav Embassy.

The Belgian Foreign Ministry's attention was called to possible unfavourable consequences to the Yugoslav-Belgian relations if the authorities allow the announced anti-Yugoslav rally.

The Yugoslav Embassy expressed confidence that the Belgian authorities would soon fully clear up Hadri's killing and inform the public about it.

Foreign Ministry on Death

LD0203014190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2015 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is against any kind of violence and terrorism, and regrets that "someone, evidently outside Yugoslavia and with unknown motives" has killed one of the leaders of the ethnic Albanian emigrants in Belgium Enver Hadri, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here on Thursday.

Referring to serious charges, voiced recently in the Belgian press, against Yugoslavia in relation to the killing, Vajgl pointed out that they are contrary to the character of the Yugoslav-Belgian relations.

The highly unfounded writing of the Belgian press was brought to the notice of the Belgian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, while his Yugoslav counterpart in Belgium was instructed to call attention to the harmful effect of the campaign, said Vajgl.

"Inadmissible" is the way in which the Belgian press "publicly insulted the Yugoslav constitutional organs and officials by linking them to the incident," Vajgl said.